Ute Texts

COMPILED AND EDITED BY
T. Givón

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Ute Texts

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Volume 7

Ute Texts
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T. Givón
University of Oregon

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In memory of:

Mollie Buck Cloud
Bertha Burch Groves
Harry Richards

master story tellers
pʉsariniya-qa-mi-tʉ-mʉ

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Preface

This book is a revised and expanded edition of an earlier volume of Ute traditional oral narratives. The bulk of the texts collected here were recorded, transcribed, translated and analyzed during the 10 years of the Ute Language Project of the Southern Ute Indian Tribe (1975–1985), and were published in Givón (ed. 1985). To those, we added several texts that were recorded and transcribed at the time but were not included in the original volume. We then added three related texts taken from Sapir's (1930) collection – re-transcribed, re-translated and re-analyzed. Two of these are Uintah Ute texts collected in 1909. Both are presented directly following the respective stories told by So. Ute story-tellers. They are included here as illustration of the considerable variation in Ute story-telling. The third text was taken from Sapir's (1930) Kaibab Paiute materials. Collected in 1910 and re-transcribed, re-translated and re-analyzed here, the text is the So. Paiute version of the Ute creation story. The comparison thus serves to illustrate the cultural diversity found across closely-related Numic groups.

Ute story-telling tradition is the people's cultural-literary heritage. Unlike many other oral traditions, Ute spoken narratives allow considerable artistic freedom and cross-personal diversity in contents and style. Stories were not memorized verbatim, and story-tellers took creative liberty in elaborating and re-inventing the 'same' tale. The core cultural contents of each story are nevertheless preserved across tellers, and are sufficiently transparent.

Ute oral literature reflects the life experience of a small-scale hunting-and-gathering *Society of Intimates*,[1] and its tight connection to the local natural environment and to the terrain, flora and fauna that supported the hunter-gatherer life on this earth – *'ichay tuvuri-vwan*. At the height of their power in the mid-1800s, ca. ten loose Ute bands occupied the top of the Rockies from Colorado's Front Range to Utah's Wassach Front, fending off a full semi-circle of traditional enemies – Cheyenne, Arapajo, Kiowa, Comanche, Apache and Navajo.

The bulk of the characters partaking in these stories are animates rather than humans. But their affairs, doings, trials and tribulation clearly reflect

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1. See Givón (2002, ch. 8).

the life experience of humans. This is underscored in many of the stories by the near-formulaic reminder : *wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga-vachi*, it was long ago, *'umʉ píisiavi-u, 'umʉ wʉ-wʉsi-aagha-tʉ-mʉ, núuchi-u-gway-kʉ-'uru*... when all the living beings and the feathered ones were still human. This is, of course, part and parcel of the hunter-and-gathere's sense of profound unity of all sentient beings, a unity that is well manifest across Ute grammar.

Ute stories were most likely told at night around the fire, in front of or inside the lodge, to a mixed audience of children and adults, of whom the latter had surely heard the tale many time before. The stories aimed to both instruct and entertain, and their underlying themes are rueful, stoic, oft-cynical reflections on the foibles of human behavior and the vagaries of harsh existence. While not Homeric epics, Ute oral narratives are, unmistakably, the foundational literary tradition of The People – *Núuchi-u*. As one may recall, the Homer we know is but the latest-edited literary re-casting of an earlier oral tradition.

In the Ute oral tradition, many people might tell a story on occasion, but it took a master story-teller – *pʉsariniya-mi-tʉ*, indeed an accomplished orator – to tell the stories in style and verve. To quote one of the contributors to our collection, the late Ralph Nash Cloud: "...I am nothing. You should have heard the Old Ones – *'umʉ wíi-núuchi-gyapʉ-u*. When they spoke, you could see it right in front of your eyes..."

The stories are presented here in writing, but otherwise are given just the way they were told, with scant editorial tampering; the repetitions, pauses, hedges, self-corrections and occasional grammatical slips are all here, lovingly preserved. To the extent possible, thus, we have tried to maintain the style of the spoken language. The alphabet used here is a slight modification and simplification of the one developed by the Ute Language Project (1975–1985). The Ute sound-system and writing is explained in our *Ute Reference Grammar* (Givón 2011, Chapter 2). That entire book also constitute an explanation of the abbreviated grammatical terminology used in the intermediate glosses of our texts (see below).

Many people contributed to the making of this book, most of them no longer with us – *ka-miya'ni-wa-tʉ-mʉ*. I would like to acknowledge their contributions, as story tellers, translators, or active members of the old Ute Language Committee: Edna Russell Baker, Lorraine Cloud Baker, Fritz Box, Frances Buck, Bertha Burch Groves, Martha Burch Myore, Pat Rael, Harry Richards, Sunshine Cloud Smith, Euterpe Taylor, Daisie Watts, Ellen and Max Watts. Only two of the old group are still with us – Neil Buck Cloud and

Annabelle Eagle. Still with us too is Douglas Remington, who was most helpful with the conversion of Sapir's two Uintah texts.

One who is not with us but deserves much recognition for authorizing the Ute Language Project and supporting our work through thick and thin is the late Leonard C. Burch, long-time Chairman of the Southern Ute Tribal Council. *Тичиchi̱ toghoyaqh, тиgичи-gapи-n*.

This project received financial support from the Office of Indian Education (Title IV, 1976–1977), The Ignacio School District (Title VII, 1978–1980), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Title VIII, 1978–1979), the American Indian Studies Center at UCLA (1979–1980), the UCLA Academic Senate (1976–1980), the University of Oregon Faculty Research Committee (1981–1982), and the National Endowment for the Humanities (1980–1985).

This collection is far from complete. In Souther Ute, our old story tellers are gone. In Ute Mountain and Unitah-Ouray, story tellers are still alive, and more stories can be collected. It is up to the Ute people to put together as much of their cultural heritage as is still accessible. We consider what we have done here but a modest beginning. *'ичиs, máy-kya-nи-s 'áy-kh*.

T. Givón
White Cloud Ranch
Ignacio, Colorado

Abbreviations of Ute grammatical terms

ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb, adverbial
AGT	agent (role)
AN	animate
ANT	anterior (aspect)
ASP	aspect
ASS	associative (role)
BEN	benefactive (role)
BG	background (aspect)
C	conjunction (suffix)
CAUS	causative (verb suffix)
CL	closure (aspect)
COMP	complementizer (suffix)
CONC	closure (aspect)
DAT	dative (role)
DEF	definite
DEFUN	defunct (noun suffix)
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive (noun suffix)
DIR	direction (post-position)
DU	dual (number)
EM	emphasis
EX	exclusive (pronoun)
FUT	future (mode)
G	genitive, possessor (case)
HAB	habitual (aspect)
HORT	hortartive (mode)
IMM	immediate (aspect)
IMP	imperative (speech-act)
IN	inclusive (pronoun)
INAN	inanimate
INC	inceptive (aspect)
INST	instrumental (role)
INT	intensive (suffix)
INTJ	interjection
INVIS	invisible (demonstrative, pronoun)
IO	indirect object (case)
IRR	irrealis (mode)
LOC	locative (role, post-position)
MANN	manner (role)
MASS	mass (number)
MOD	modal (suffix)
N	noun
NEG	negative (mode)
NOM	nominal, nominalizer (suffix)
NP	noun phrase
O	object (case)
OWN	possessive-reflexive (noun suffix)
PAR	participle (aspect)
PART	partitive
PASS	passive (voice)
PAT	patient (role)
PL	plural (number)
POSS	possession
P	post-position
PP	post-positional phrase
PRED	predicate (case, role)
Q	question (speech-act)
QU	quantity (question)
REC	reciprocal (voice)
RED	reduplicate, repetitive (aspect)
REF	reflexive (voice)
REL	relative marker (suffix)
REM	remote (aspect)

SG	singular (number)	VP	verb phrase
S	subject (case)	WH	WH-question pronoun
SUB	subordinator (verb suffix)	1du	first-person dual
SUBJ	subjunctive (mode, speech-act; verb suffix)	1p	first person plural
		1s	first person singular
TOP	topic (noun suffix)	2p	second person plural
V	verb	2s	second person singular
VIS	visible (demonstrative pronoun)	3p	third person plural
		3s	third person singular

PART I

The Sinawav cycle

Introduction

There is no binding reason for putting our Ute traditional texts in a particular order. Still, if one assumes – as is only reasonable – that the Creation story (1,2) is a natural beginning, then an overarching progression emerges, one that allows us to place the stories one next to the other in a coherent sequence: The Transformations of Sinawav.

Unlike the closely-related So. Paiute tradition (3), the Ute creation story involves two main participant, the Creator, Sinawav – *Núu-maroghoma-pʉga-tʉ*, 'He who created the People' – and his younger brother Coyote, *Yoghovʉchi*. The name *Sinawavi* is a transparent variant of the Ute *sinaavi* 'wolf'. The name *Yoghovʉchi* is an equally transparent diminutive nominalization of the verb *yoghoy-* 'fornicate', thus literally 'little fucker'. The Ute Creation account (1,2) raises three grand themes. The first is eerily reminiscent of the Greeks' *Pandora's Box*, whereby Sinawav instructs Coyote not to open the bag in which all the would-be people of the earth are stored; but Coyote – ever curious, ever mischievous – opens the bag and messes up Creation.

The second grand theme is reminiscent of the Biblical story of the Fall, with Coyote-Lucifer, originally part of the Divine team, bungling Creation, thus committing the Original Sin. Consequently, Coyote is banished from Heaven by Sinawav, and thereafter is doomed to wander the earth and howl at the night sky. The Coyote Cycle of Part II, branching off from the Creation story, firmly places Coyote as the malevolent spirit, a near-parallel to Lucifer after the Fall (Genesis 3:14–15; Job 1:6–12).[1]

---

1. Much of the elaboration on the Fall and the fate of the Serpent-Satan-Lucifer is post-Biblical in the Hebrew, Christian and Moslem legends. Great literary works eventually sprang out of this oral traditions, such as Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus,* Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Goethe's *Faust* or Shaw's *Don Juan in Hell*. In all of them, to one degree of another, Evil is somewhat mitigated by its overlap with the Creative Spirit, thus

The third grand theme of the Ute Creation account pertains to the origins of War. All peoples but the Utes were dispersed prematurely by Coyote – in the wrong spots on earth. Only the Utes were put in their rightful place, by Sinawav. This precipitated the eternal state of war on earth, at which the Utes naturally excelled. In terms of folk explanation, the story thus serves a dual purpose. First, it justifies the Utes' claim to their Rocky Mountains territory.[2] And second, it explains their perennial need to defend their territory against multiple encroaching neighbors.[3]

In parallel with Coyote's Fall, Sinawav himself now undergoes an astonishing transformation. First, he turns into a benign human Chieftain – the Prometheus figure who orchestrates the stealing of the fire and bringing it back to the People (4). Gradually, Sinawav sink's lower and lower. First, he is the despicable incestuous fornicator who marries his own daughter and lusts after his granddaughters, precipitating their rise to heaven as the Seven Sisters, *Sɵniaa-u* – the Pleiades (5). Next, in a droll extension of Creation, Sinawav cuts pieces off his monstrously-long penis and then creates – and names – the trees and bushes (6). After which he becomes the stock bumbling, witless Copycat, forever imitating others and invariably falling flat on his face (9–14).

In this last, derided folk-figure incarnation, Sinawav's considerable overlaps with Coyote in the Ute tradition is perhaps not quite an accident. In the So. Paiute account of Creation (3), Sinawav *is* Coyote, and indeed remains the universal malevolent spirit thereafter. What the Utes seem to have done is split the Creator into the two distinct, equally unsavory human traits – gullibility (Sinawav) and evil (Coyote).

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confirming the Ute intuition of Sinawav. It is also of interest that the blend of the Serpent-Satan and Lucifer – 'Carrier of the Light' – in the Judeo-Christian tradition is not unlike the blend of Coyote and Sinawav-Prometheus in the Ute oral tradition.

2. The linguistic and anthropological accounts of the Numic expansion suggest that the So. Numic peoples (So. Paiute, Ute) did not leave California till ca. 1,000 AD, moving north-east along the Colorado river and its upper tributaries (Jorgensen 1994; Aikens 1994).

3. As noted above, The Utes had a hostile raiding relations with enemies to the north, east and south. Only to the Northwest and Southwest did they have alliances with their Numic kin – Shoshone, No. Paiute and So. Paiute.

Lastly, extending oneself a bit further out on a limb, one may note that the transformations of Sinawav in the Ute tradition suggest – implicitly but still plausibly – a distinct slant on the Divine Creator. With all his power and abiding divinity, Sinawav-Coyote nonetheless emerges as profoundly human – silly, malevolent, carnal, above all fallible. Whether this cultural intuition of the hunter-and-gatherer overlaps with the Christian tradition of the Divine-incarnate-in-the-flesh Christ remains a matter of interpretation.

TEXT 1

He who created the people

told by: Ralph N. Cloud
date recorded: 5-8-81
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

wíitʉs-'uru 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲, tʉvʉchi̲ wíitʉs; 'uni-pʉga-tu̲-'ura
past-that be-REM-BG very past do-REM-REL-be
'It was long ago, long time ago; the one who did it

Sinawavi̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲; 'uway chaqhachi-av Yoghovʉchi-wa
Sinawav/s be-REM-BG 3s/O yngr.bro-OWN Coyote/O-with
was Sinawav; he lived together with his younger brother Coyote,

kani-gya-pʉga-vachi-mu̲, 'ichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-na̲ pagha'ni-pʉga-vachi-mu̲;
house/O-have-REM-BG-PL this/O earth/O-at-LOC roam-REM-BG-PL
they roamed this earth together;

'umʉ-tʉ-s pagha'ni-pʉga-vachi̲-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura; 'ichay-'uru
3p-PART-C roam-REM-BG-be there-at-it-be this/O-tha
only (the two of) them were roaming about then; they were roaming this

tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-na̲-amu̲ pagha'ni-gya, 'ichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwaa-tʉ
earth/O-at-LOC-3p roam-PAR this/O earth/O-on-DIR
earth, when there was nobody else on this earth,

ka-núu-'wa-y-ku̲, ka-núu-'wa-pʉga, 'umʉ-tʉ-s 'ura-pʉga.
NEG-person-NEG-IMM-SUB NEG-person-NEG-REM 3p-PART-C be-REM
there was nobody else, just the two of them.

kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'áy-pʉga, Sinawavi̲ 'u, 'uway chaqhachi-av
then-be-that 3s/s say-REM Sinawav/s the/s 3s/O yngr.bro/O-OWN
So then Sinawav told his younger brother

Yoghovʉchi: "'ʉmʉy-sa maavʉ chʉkʉr'a-ghwa, pa'a-manu-khu̲-tu̲-aa-s
Coyote/O 2s-TOP brush/O cut-go/IMP complete-all-O-NOM-PART-C
Coyote: "Now you go cut some brush, all kinds of

maavʉ 'ichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwan nana-rʉ, míi-miipʉ chʉkʉr'a-nʉ-aqh-'uru,
brush/O this/O earth/O-on grow-ADJ/O RED-small/O cut-IMP-it-that
brush growing on this earth, cut them into small pieces,

to-togho-paa-taa-ni; ka-súuva-tʉ-aa-paa-y, manu-khu-tʉ-aa maavʉ
RED-right-DIR-be-like NEG-other-NOM-O-DIR-O all-O-NOM-O brush/O
just like this; not any other way, of all the kinds of brush

'ichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-tʉ; tʉvwaghachi 'ú-naagha kunaavʉ-naagha.
this/O earth/O-at-DIR pack/IMP there-in bag/O-in
on this earth; and pack them in there in that bag.

'uwas-'ura 'uni-'a-pʉga, 'ú-'uni vʊrʊ-na-pʉga, máa-pa
3s/s-be do-??-REM RED-do go-HAB-REM there-DIR
So Coyote did that, doing that he kept walking all over, he kept

pagha'ni-na-pʉga, wʉga-rukhwa 'agha-vaa-sapa manu-khu-taa-s
roam-HAB-REM hill-go WH-at-MOD all-O-PART-C
roaming that-a-way, through the hills, wherever it be, he kept gathering of all

kwachʉavʉ maavʉ 'ú-ra-tʉ-aa-ni 'uni-na-pʉga; kách-'ura
white.blossom/O brush/O that-be-NOM-O-like do-HAB-REM NEG-be
the white-blossom brush and the like; he had never

máy-na-pʉa-'uru, Sinawavi: "'ú-ra-tʉ-kʉ 'ara-'ay!" ka-máy-pʉa,
say-HAB-REM/NEG-that Sinawav/s that-be-NOM-EM be-IMM NEG-say-REM/NEG
told him, Sinawav didn't: "Do it just like this!" he didn't say,

kachu-'u máy-na-pʉa.
NEG-3s say-HAB-REM/NEG
he never told him.

pina-khwa-'uru kunavʉ-'u kuiki-pʉga, kh-'ura 'uwas 'u máy-pʉga
follow-go-that bag/O-3s fill-REM then-be 3s/s the/s say-REM
So then Coyote filled his bag, then Sinawav said

pina-khwa-'uru, kuiki-kyay-ku-'uru: "'ʉmʉy-sa chaqhachi-n, máa-pa
follow-go-that fill-ANT-SUB-that 2s-TOP yngr.bro-1s there-DIR
afterwards, when Coyote had filled it: "Now, my little brother, you go

kway-'a-'ura, 'agha-vaa-tʉ-a-sapa-'uru… yúaa-vaa-tʉ,
go-??/IMP-be WH-at-DIR-O-MOD-that plains-LOC-DIR
that-a-way, whichever way… over the plains,

máa-va-tugwa-khwa-'ura ca-caa'mi-nʉ-aqh" máy-pʉgay-'u; "'ichay 'ivichi
there-at-go-go-be RED-dump-IMP-it say-REM-3s this/O stick/O
dump it out that-a-way" he told him; "these sticks

yáa'wa̲-qha-na-av, ca̲-caa'mi-nʉ̲-aqh ma-vaa-tukhwa̲”
carry-ANT-REL-OWN RED-dump-IMP-it there-at-go
that you have gathered, keep dumping them around over there”

máy-pʉgay-aghay-'ura; 'uwas-'ura 'uni-'a̲-pʉgay-ku̲, 'uwas-'ura: “'ipʉ-va̲
say-REM-CL-be 3s/s-be do-??-REM-SUB 3s/s-be WH/O-at
he told him; so Coyote while going there, he though to himself:

'ara-'ay?” máy-pʉgaa-ni, yoghovʉchi̲ 'u; “'ípʉ̲ 'ara-'ay márʉ̲?”
be-IMM say-REM-like Coyote/s the/s WH/s be-IMM that/s
“What is it?” he thought, Coyote did; “What is it?”

máy-pʉgaa-ni-'ura, “pʉnikya-vaa-qa-n-ukh” máy-pʉgaa-ni.
say-REM-like-be see-IRR-ANT-1s-it say-REM-like
he thought, “maybe I should take a look” he thought.

ma-vaa miya-tʉga-'wa̲-chi̲-'uru, kachu-'u pʉnikya-nay-ku̲ 'uway
there-at far-reach-??-NOM-that NEG-3s see-ANT/NEG-SUB 3s/G
So reaching farther away, when Sinawav couldn't see him

Sinawavi, chawu'na-pʉgay-ku̲, chawu… 'uni-pʉga, tapicha̲'a-qha-tʉ 'uru
Sinawav/G open-REM-it open do-REM tie-PASS-REL/O the/O
any more, he opened it, open… he did, he opened the thing that

chawu'na-pʉga; 'anʉ chawu'na-qhay-ku̲, 'úu-pa 'ú-'u̲ni-'wa̲-pʉga,
open-REM just open-ANT-SUB there-DIR RED-do/be-??-REM
had been tied; and just as he had opened (it), there they were,

'úniguni-'ura núuchi-u 'ura-[qa]-pʉga! núuchi-u, manu-khu̲-tʉ[-mʉ]
sudden-be person-PL be-PL-REM person-PL all-O-NOM-PL/O
suddenly there were people! People, all kinds of

núuchi-u-s, wa̲-wachigi-navichi̲-pʉga, wáygya-ni… na̲-nana-ghaa-ni
person-PL-C RED-whoop-MASS-REM talk/PL-like RED-REC-have-like
people, all whooping and hollering, talking… they were all

wáygya-rʉ-mu̲ 'uni-'wa-pʉga, wa̲-wachigi-kya-pʉga; súu-'ava'na̲-tʉ-mu̲
talk/PL-NOM-PL do/be-??-REM RED-whoop-PL-REM strong-many-NOM-PL/S
speakers (of all kinds), whooping and hollering; and many of them

chivukhwa̲-kwa-pʉga, ka-'ava'na̲-chi-wa-tʉ-mʉ 'úu-pa-s cha̲'a-pʉga,
escape-PL-REM NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL/O there-DIR-C catch-REM
escaped, only few of them he managed to catch there,

'uru kunavʉ 'u-naagha̲-s-umu̲ tuwa-khwa-pʉga 'u-vwaa-s;
that/O bag/O there-in-C-3p lock-go-REM there-at-C
and he locked them (back) in that bag;

'ʉvʉs 'uwa-paa 'uni-khwa̲-u-pʉga.
end 3s/O-DIR do-go-INC-REM
so in the end (most of them) escaped.

'úmu̲-'ura-'uru pina-khwa̲-'uru… 'umʉ súuva-tʉ-mʉ
3p/s-be-that follow-go-that 3p/G other-NOM-PL/G
Those last ones… after those other ones

ka-'iya-na-wa-khu̲-'uru, núu-nawa-ku̲ 'umʉ, 'uru̲ cháa'mi̲-pʉga,
NEG-there-be-NEG-SUB-that person-crowd-O 3p/O that/S dump-REM
were not there any more, the majority, he dumped them,

ka-'ava'na̲-chi-wa-tʉ-mʉ… páyu̲ki̲-pʉga-s, kani-vaa-tu̲[-av] 'uru;
NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL/O return-REM-C house/O-at-DIR-OWN the/O
those few… then he went back, home.

Sinawavi̲ 'u pu̲chuchugwa-pʉgay-'u, púupa-'uru
Sinawav/S the-S know-REM-3s manner-that/O
Now Sinawav knew about him, the way Coyote used to act;

'uni-'wa̲-kwa-na-y; "'ʉmʉ-núgway 'u̲-'uni-kya, wóʊ'? "'ʉʉ" máy-pʉga
do-??-ANT-REL-O 2s-TOP RED-do-ANT Q yes say-REM
"You did (dump) them, right?" "Yes" said Coyote,

'uwas, "mamʉ-nugway 'úu-pa 'uni-kwa̲-khu̲, na̲-nana-gha-ni
3s/S 3p/O-TOP there-DIR do-go-SUB RED-REC-have-like
"those ones when they ran away, those people who

wáygya-rʉ-mu̲ núuchi-u, wa̲-wachigi-kya-y; ka-'a̲va'na̲-chi-wa-tʉ-mu̲
speak/PL-NOM-PL person-PL RED-whoop-PL-IMM NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL/S
spoke together (all those tongues), whooping and hollering;

piya-'way, 'umʉ-'ura nʉ́' 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s cha̲-chaa'mi-pʉga";
remain-IMM 3p/O-be 1s/S there-at-go-C RED-dump-REM
only a few remained, so those ones I dumped way over there";

"'agha-ni̲-'ura ka-nʉka-['ni]-wa-tʉ-mu̲?" máy-pʉay-aghay-'ura; "'áavu̲-'ura
WH-do-be NEG-hear-INT-NEG-NOM-2s say-REM-CL-be now-be
"Well how come you never listen?" Sinawav asked him; "now they

'úmu̲ 'úu-rʉ-gwa-vaa-ni" máy-pʉgay-aghay-'u, "'áavu̲-'ura 'ʉmʉy-sa
3p/s arrow-make-PL-IRR-FUT say-REM-CL-3s now-be you/O-TOP
will start making arrows" he told him, "now they will

nagukwi̲-kya-ta-vaa-rami̲, tami-gya" 'áy-pʉay-aghay-'ura.
fight-PL-PASS-IRR-2DU 2du/O-TOP say-REM-CL-be
start fighting you (us two), the two of us" he said.

'uwas-'ura 'úu-rʉ-pʉga, 'uni-pʉgay-kʉ; pina-khwa-'ura yúaa-va-y
3s/s-be arrow-make-REM do-REM-it follow-go-be plains-at-O
So he Coyote made arrows, he did it; and afterwards there was fighting

nagukwi-ta-pʉga, 'úmʉ-'ura kʉmaachi-u 'ura-vachi-mʉ, súuva-tʉ-mʉ…
fight-PASS-REM 3p/s-be Comanche-PL be-BG-PL other-NOM-PL/O
over the plains, they were those Comanches, and others…

manu-khʉ-tʉ núuchi-u-s 'i-vaa-chi-mʉ, tava-mawisi-paa-tʉ-mʉ,
all-O-NOM/O person-PL-C here-LOC-NOM-PL sun-rise-DIR-NOM-PL/S
and all kinds of peoples too from over here, from way to the east,

máa-pa-tʉ tʉvʉpʉ-agha-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-pʉga.
there-at-DIR country-have-NOM-PL/S be-REM
they were people from that country over there (gesture).

'umʉs-'ura ka-'ava'na-chi-wa-tʉ-mʉ núuchi-u 'ura-pʉga,
3p/s-be NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL Ute-PL be-REM
Now those very few left behind were the Utes,

'ú́ʉ-nuuchi-u-'ura 'íi-pa-tʉ-mʉ; 'uwas-'ura Sinawavi máy-pʉga:
real-Ute-PL-be here-DIR-NOM-PL 3s/s-be Sinawav/S say-REM
the true Utes from around here; so Sinawav said:

"má[mʉ] ka-'ava'na-way-sapa ka-piya-qha-vaa-['wa]-tʉ-mʉ
those/S NEG-many-NEG-MOD NEG-surpass-PL-IRR-NEG-NOM-PL
"Those few, no one will surpass them when the time

nagugwi-ta-khʉ-'uru; 'ína núuchi ka-'ava'na-chi-way-sapa,
fight-PASS-SUB-that/O this/S Ute/S NEG-many-NOM-NEG-MOD
comes to fight; these Utes however few they may be,

kwa'ay-pagha-paa-tʉ-mʉ 'umʉ súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni" 'áy-pʉga.
slaughter-go-IRR-NOM-PL those/O other-NOM-PL-O-like say-REM
they'll keep slaughtering all those others" he said.

'uwayas 'uway Yoghovʉchi tʉsu'a-paa-tʉ 'uni-kwa-u-pʉga; 'úniguni
3s/G the/G Coyote/G think-DIR-DIR do-go-INC-REM sudden
It was all Coyote's design, what he did; and lo,

'úu-pani 'ura-tʉ 'ara-vachi, 'ura-na-pʉga-vachi, wíiitʉs-'uru
that-like be-NOM be-BG be-HAB-REM-BG past-that/O
it was just like that, it used to be, they have been

nagukwi-kya-tʉ-mʉ, 'ína núuchi, ka-piya-qa-na-pʉa-vachi;
fight-PL-NOM-PL this/S Ute/S NEG-surpass-PL-HAB-REM/NEG-BG
fighting ever since, those Utes, no one surpassed them;

'umʉ kʉmaachi-u manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-aa-s nagukwi-kya-na-av,
those/O Comanche-PL all-O-NOM-PL-O-C fight-PL-REL-OWN
those Comanches and all the others that they used to fight,

kwa̲-khwa'ay-ta-pagha-na-pʉga-vachi̲.
RED-slaughter-PASS-go-HAB-REM-BG
they kept slaughtering them.

'uru púupa-av máy-pʉ-'u 'uwayas-'uru 'uway Sinawavi,
that/O manner-OWN say-NOM-3s 3s/G-that that/G Sinawav/G
That is the way Sinawav told it,

púupa máy-pʉ-'u-pa; 'úu-pa 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲; máy-kya-nʉ-s 'ura-sapa̲.
manner say-NOM-3s-DIR there-DIR be-REM-BG say-ANT-1s-C be-MOD
his way of saying it; that's the way it happened; I have spoken.

TEXT 2

He who created the people

told by: Julius Cloud
date recorded: 6-16-83
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas-'ura 'ura-pʉga-vachi̱, núu-maroghoma-pʉga-tʉ̱ 'u,
3s/s-be be-REM-BG person-create-REM-REL/S the/s
It was him, He who Created the People,

'áy-kya-mi-pʉa 'uru; wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga-vachi̱-'uru, 'i-vaa-ni̱-'uru
say-PL-HAB-REM that/O past be-REM-BG-that here-at-like-that
they called him that; it was long time ago, right here

tʉvʉpʉ-vwaa-na̱-amʉ̱-'uru… núuchi-chʉ-pʉga 'uwas, núuchi[-u]
earth/O-at-on-3p-that person/O-make-REM 3s/s person/O-PL
on earth… he made the people, made the people;

'uni-pʉga; kh-'ura wiyavʉ-m-amʉ̱ 'uni-pʉga, 'ava'na-amʉ̱-'ura 'uni-pʉga.
do-REM then-be mud/O-INST-3p do-REM many-3p-be do-REM
he made them of mud,[1] he made many of them.

kh-'ura 'uwas pina-khwa 'uwas 'áy-pʉga, chaqhachi-av 'uway,
then-be 3s/s follow-go 3s/s say-REM yngr.bro-OWN 3s/O
So then later he said, he told his younger brother

Yoghovʉchi: "'uvwiya-aqh 'ichay tʉ'ma-khwa máa-pa"; 'ivichi̱ 'ura-pʉga,
Coyote/O EXHORT-it this/O take-go/IMP there-DIR stick/s be-REM
Coyote: "Take this here and go that-a-way"; they were sticks,

'icha-tʉ̱-ni, chuwaki̱-kya-pʉga, kunavʉ-naaghʉ̱-amʉ̱-'ura,
this-NOM/S-like stuff-PASS-REM bag/O-in-3p-be
this kind, they were stuffed, into a bag,

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1. There is an obvious conflict here with Ralph Cloud's version (1) of chopped sticks. This may be a Biblical contamination of the traditional Ute account.

kunavʉ-naaghą-amų 'ichay, tʉvwaghachi-pʉga.
bag/O-in-3p this/O fill/stuff-REM
into this bag, they filled (the bag).

"mániˌ nóʊ'wą-nʉ-aqh 'uru" 'áy-pʉga, "máa-pa nóʊ'wą-nʉ,
do.like carry-IMP-it that/O say-REM there-DIR carry-IMP
"Here carry these like this" Sinawav told Coyote, "carry it that-a-way,

tʉvʉchi wʉga-aagha-tukhwą, togho-kuvua-vaay-aqh-'ura mani-'wa-nʉ"
very/O mountain-have-go right-peak-at-it-be do.like-??-IMP
to where it is very mountainous, right up the steep peaks"

máy-pʉga 'uwas…
say-REM 3s/S
he told him (gesture of opening the bag).

'ʉ́ʉʉ… 'úu-pa-khwa-pʉga 'uwas 'u-na-tarukhwą, 'i-vaa-s
INTJ…there-DIR-go-REM 3s/S there-LOC-ascend here-at-C
Eee… So Coyote went up that-a-way, and once there he thought

'áy-pʉga[-ni]: "'ipʉ-aqh 'ura-kway? pʉtiyą-khų-kʉ" 'áy-pʉga 'uwas,
say-REM-like: WH-it be-MOD heavy-SUB-EMPH say-REM 3s/S
to himself: "What could it be? It being so heavy" he said (to himself),

yoghovʉchiˌ; "'ichay-nugway…" 'áaa… mani-pʉga, táa tʉvwa,
coyote/S this/O-TOP INTJ do.like-REM INTJ down
Coyote did; "Now this (bag)…" eee… He did like this, he dumped it

chą'ay'miˌ-pʉgay-kų.
dump-REM-it
(the bag's contents).

kh-'ura-'uru chą'ay'miˌ-maku-kway-khų-'uru, 'úu-pa kʉma-ya-s
then-be-that dump-finish-ant-sub-that there-dir different-g-C
So then after he dumped them like that, right there speakers of many

wáygya-rʉ-mų, mʉrʉkachi-u, kukwachi-u wáygya-rʉ-mų-'uru kwáa
speak/PL-NOM-PL Anglo-PL Spanish-PL speak/PL-NOM-PL-that INTJ
different languages, Whitemen, Spanish speakers, (coming out) fast

manu-khų-tʉ-mʉ-s.. kʉmachi-u… tóʊʊ kh-'ura pina-khwą… pina-khwą
all-O-NOM-PL-C Comanche-PL INTJ then-be follow-go follow-go
all of them… Comanches… tóʊʊ so then finally… Finally when the Utes

núuchi-u mawisi-pʉgay-kų-'uru, ka-pa'a-vą-chi-wą-tʉ-mų…
Ute-PL appear-REM-SUB-that/O NEG-tall-??-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL
appeared, short stocky ones…

mani-'wa̲-pʉgay-ku̲ 'uwas, cha̲'a-pʉgay-ku̲ 'uwas, núuchi-u
do.like-??-REM-it 3s/s catch-REM-it 3s/s Ute-PL
he did it like this (gesture of grabbing and closing the bag), he caught it,

'umʉ, ka-'ava'na̲ piya-'wa̲-khu̲, mani-u-pʉga…
the/O NEG-many remain-NEG-SUB do.like-INC-REM
(stopped) those Utes, when only a few were left, he did like this (gesture)…

"núuchi-u kách… ka-piya-kha-vaa-wa̲-tʉ-mʉ,
Ute-PL NEG NEG-remain-PL-IRR-NEG-NOM-PL
"The Utes… there would not be many left,

ka-'ava'na̲-aagha-way-sapa̲" máy-pʉga 'uwas… 'umʉs-'ura… ka-'ava'na̲…
NEG-many-have-NEG-MOD say-REM 3s/S 3p/s-be NEG-many
there were not be many of them" Sinawav had said… They… not many…

pa'a-manu-khu̲… manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ núuchi-u-s… togho-sapa̲-'ura
complete-all-O all-O-NOM-PL/O Ute-PL-C right-MOD-be
all… all of them Utes… This is why nowadays there are all those peoples

'áavu̲ mamu̲ manu-khu̲-tʉ núuchi-u-s 'ura-vachi̲; 'urus
now 3p/s all-O-NOM/O person-PL-C be-BG that/s
(living on Earth, in the wrong places; because Coyote opened the bag

ka-'ura-vaa-pʉ-'wa-tu̲ 'ura-vachi 'urus, mamʉ-tu̲-aa-s núuchi-u
NEG-be-IRR-NOM-NEG-NOM be-BG that/s 3p/NOM-PART-C person-PL
prematurely); it was not supposed to happen (this way), the Utes were (a small)

'ura-vachi-mu̲; 'uwas-'ura-'uru… machi-pʉka-pʉgay-ku̲ Yoghovʉchi̲…
be-BG-PL 3s/s-be-that/O mess.up-REM-it coyote/s
part (of all those); it was him… he messed it all up, Coyote did…

pina-khwa̲-'ura pavichi-'u 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲:
Follow-go-be oldr.bro-3s 3s/O-at-go
So afterwards his older brother (Sinawav) said to him:

"máa-y-chu̲-ukh-aa? 'u-vwaa-tugwa-khu̲-aa 'ini-'wa̲?" ká-'apagha̲-pʉa
that-O-make-it-Q there-at-go-it-Q do-?? NEG-speak-REM/NEG
"Did you really do that? Did you dump them all that way?" But Coyote

'uwas, "'ini-a-ta-vaa-pʉ-u-na̲-'ura?" máy-pʉgaa-ni; "tʉvʉchi-sapa̲…
3s/S WH-O-PASS-IRR-S-INC-REL-be say-REM-like true-MOD
didn't answer, "what would it be like?" he thought (if I told him the truth);

'i-vaa-tugwa-s pa'a-manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s mani-uchaa-ni-kʉ…
here-at-go-C complete-all-O-NOM-PL-C do.like-INC-like-EMPH
"The truth is… right this way I did (dump) all of them like this…

mani-kwa-khu̲-'ura" máy-kya, "kh-'ú-nukhwa̲-'ura pa'a-manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s
do.like-go-it-be say-ANT then-there-TOP-be complete-all-O-NOM-PL-C
I did start doing like this… doing it like this" he said, "and then right

'u-vwaa-tʉ-mana-kway… chi̲vu'a-y" máy-kya-'ura, "'ava'na-y…
there-at-leave-go climb/PL-IMM say-ANT-be many-O
there all of them climbed out (of the bag)" he said, "many…

pa'a-manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s".
complete-all-O-NOM-PL-C
the whole bunch of them".

kh-'ura 'uwas 'áy-pʉga: "tʉvʉchi-sapa-ni-aa 'uru-'ay 'ʉ́mʉ̲
then-be 3s/s say-REM truth-MOD-like-Q be-IMM 2s/s
So then Sinawav said: "Isn't it remarkable

ka-tʉsu'a-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲" 'áy-pʉga 'uwas; kh-'ura: "'ʉvʉs-'ura, 'úu-rʉ-gwa!"
NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-2s say-REM 3s/s then-be end-be arrow-make-go
how dumb you are?" he said; then (Sinawav said): "Now go make arrows!"

'áy-pʉga, "'ʉvʉs 'áa-rʉ-gwa! 'áavʉ-'ura tami nagukwi-kwa-ta-vaa-ni"
say-REM end bow-make-go now-be 1d/O fight-go-PASS-IRR-FUT
he said, "now go make bows! Now they will fight us"

máy-pʉga-'ura; "nagukwi-kwa-ta-vaa-ni̲-amʉ̲ támi̲" máy-pʉga.
say-REM-be fight-go-PASS-IRR-FUT-3p 1du/s say-REM
he said, "and we will have to fight them" he said.

'uwas-'ura pina-khwa̲… 'úmʉ̲-'ura máa-pa-s… kʉmachi-u
3s/SU-be follow-go 3p/S-be there-DIR-C Comanche-PL
So later on he… they went that-a-way… they were Comanches,

'ura-qa-pʉga, 'ava'na-tʉ-mʉ̲ kʉmachi-u 'ura-qa-pʉga… 'úmʉ̲-'ura
be-PL-REM many-NOM-PL/S Comanche-PL be-PL-REM 3P/S-be
there were many Comanches (there)… and they

ka-'asti-kya-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲ núuchi-u-'ura, 'ini-wh̲-kwa-tʉ-mʉ̲… 'áavʉ̲-'ura
NEG-like-PL-NEG-NOM-PL/S Ute-PL-be WH-PL-go-NOM-PL/S now-be
didn't like the Utes, whoever they were… So now one

kʉmachi̲, ta'waavi-amʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲… 'icha-y tʉvʉpʉ ta'waavi̲…
Comanche chief-3p be-BG this-G country/G chief/s
Comanche, he was their chief… the chief of that country…

"'áavʉ-[rami̲] nagukwi-kya-paa-ni̲-'u" máy-pʉga-'ura.
now-1d/IN fight-PL-IRR-FUT-3s say-REM-be
"Now we'll (have to) fight him" said (Sinawav).

'uwas-'ura… pina-khwa̲… wáy-chi-gya-na̲-amu̲
3s/s-be follow-go two-NOM-have-REL-3p
So he… later… the two of them (Sinawav and the Comanche chief)

nagukwi-khwa̲-ta-pʉga… 'ú-vway-aqh… 'umʉ kʉmachi-u… kh-'ura…
fight-go-PASS-REM there-at-it 3P/O Comanche-PL then-be
fought… then (Sinawav fought) those Comanches… then…

pina-khwa̲-'ura kukwi-pʉay-aghay-'u, túu-taa-y-'u…
follow-go-be shoot-REM-CL-3s black-coat-O-3s
later on he (the chief) shot him (Sinawav), (through) his top-coat…

túu-taa-y-'u-wagha-rukhwa̲, saghwa-rʉ túu-taa-y-'u…
black-coat-O-3s-through-go blue-ADJ/O black-coat-O-3s
through his top-coat, (through) his blue top-coat…

pina-khwa̲-'uru 'úu-pa-pʉga 'uwas: "'agha-ni-gyay-kucha-amu̲-kway?"
follow-go-that/O therre-DIR-EM 3s/S WH-do-PAR-start-3p-MOD
Well later on Coyote went that-a-way: "I wonder what they are up to there?"

máy-pʉga-[ni]; ka-pu̲chuchugwa-pʉa 'uwas, nagukwi-kyay-ku̲-amu̲-'uru;
say-REM-like NEG-know-REM/NEG 3s/S fight-PL-SUB-3p-that
he thought; he didn't know, when they were fighting;

"'áaa…" máy-pʉga, 'i-vaa-ni-'uru… wachʉ-ka-pʉga… pavichi-a-'u
INTJ say-REM here-LOC-like-that put-PASS-REM oldr.bro-G-3s
"'aaa… " he exclaimed, right there… there was (lying)… his older brother's

túu-taa-ghay-kya-na̲; 'ʉvʉs… kʉʉ-kha-ta-ukh… 'ʉvʉs
black-coat-have-ANT-REL end take-PL-PASS-it end
top-coat; well… it had been taken away (from Sinawav)… So Coyote

chʘa-pʉay-aghay-ku̲… paqha-khwa̲-pʉay-aghay-'u-'ura,
pick.up-REM-CL-3s kill-go-REM-CL-3s-be
picked it up… They had killed him,

pavichi-gyay-kya-na̲ 'uway.
oldr.bro-have-ANT-REL 3s/O
his older brother.

'ú-vwaa-tʉ-mana-kway-is-'ura táwi̲ ka-'ava'na-wa-tʉ-mu̲
there-at-DIR-leave-go-C-be 1p/IN/S NEG-many-NEG-NOM-PL
From then on we have been (very) few,

'ura-[qa]-vachi, táwi̲, núuchi-u… kh-'ura…
be-PL-BG 1/P/S Ute-PL then-be
we, the Utes… then…

'úru̲-'ura 'ura-'ay 'urus, 'i-vaa-tugwa-sapa̲ 'ura-'ay-'uru;
that/s-be be-IMM that/s here-at-go-MOD be-IMM-that/O
That's the way it was, it's this way;

'ʉvʉsa̲-kwa-pʉga nugway… 'uni-pʉga-tʉ̲, núuchi̲, Sinawavi
end-go-REM TOP do-REM-REL/S person/s Sinawav/G
it ended, as far as I am concerned… the one who did it, the person,

chaqhachi̲ 'ura-'ay… sinaavi-ra-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-'ay, Jíisusi
yngr.bro/s be-IMM wolf-be-ANT-NOM-AN be-IMM Jesus/O
it's Sinawav's younger brother… Sinawav is like a wolf,

'uway máy-kya-tʉ-mʉ̲; 'uwas-'ura máa-y 'uwas-'ura níaa-gha-tʉ̲
the/O say-PL-NOM-PL 3s/s-be that/G 3s/s-be name-have-NOM/S
they call him Jesus; he, his, it is his name,

'ura-vachi̲, Sinawavi̲; 'uwas-'ura [,] sinawavi̲ máy-gya… 'uwas-'ura…
be-BG Sinawav 3s/s-be Sinawav say-PAR 3s/s-be
Sinawav; he, they call him Sinawav… he…

Jíisus 'uway níaa Sinawavi̲; 'ʉvʉs, máy-kya-nʉ-s.
Jesus/s 3s/G name Sinawav end say-ANT-1s-C
Jesus' name is Sinawav; that's it, I have spoken.[2]

2. Other versions of the story are more expanded, including the following elaborations:

- Both Sinawav and Coyote were killed by the Lakota or Comanche; then the red ants gathered their remains and revived them.
- Sinawav taught the Utes the art of shooting many people with a single arrow.
- Following the bungling of Creation, Sinawav cursed Coyote and banished him to be forever a night prowler, doomed to wander about and howl. An echo of this may be seen in "Sinawav and the Seven Sisters" (5), where the very same curse is directed at Sinawav.

TEXT 3

The origin of the people

told by: Tony Tillohash (So. Paiute)
date collected: February-March, 1910
taken by: Edward Sapir[1]
re-transcribed by: T. Givón

ˈi-vaa tʉvwa mama-saghoy-chi̱ pachʉ-wa-av
here-at down woman-belly-NOM daughter-with-OWN
'This way down south there was an old woman living

kani-gya-pʉga-amʉ̱; ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura máas[2] mama-sagoy-chi̱
house-have-REM-3p there-at-it-be that/s woman-belly-NOM/s
with her daughter; well one day the old woman

ˈu [pachʉ-vaa-chʉ-av] máy-pʉga: "ˈuvwiyaa[-m] núu-pʉsaghay-kwa;
the/s daughter-at-DIR-OWN say-REM HORT-2s person-seek-go/IMP
told her daughter: "Go on, look for a man;

ˈuway-ˈura maay-chi̱-ˈu, ˈʉmʉy-wa-ˈu payu-kwa-vaa[-nʉ]
3s/O-be find-SUB-3s 2s/O-with-3s return-go-IRR-IMP
and when you find him, bring him home with you".

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1. In this So. Paiute version of the Creation story, taken from Sapir (1930), only the latter part corresponds to the Ute Creation account in (1), (2) above. While Coyote is still the villain of the story, his So. Paiute name is *Sinawavi̱*, and the person who assigned him the bag full of various peoples is an old woman who had tried to foist her virgin daughter on him. In re-transcribing Sapir's text, I re-analyzed the grammatical morphology, beefed up the inter-lineal glosses and supplied the hyphenation, and adjusted Sapir's over-phoneticized notation to our So. Ute writing system. This story was not recorded, but the transcribed clause by clause. The resulting style is not quite natural, in that syntactic devices ordinarily used in contexts of referential and thematic discontinuity are over-represented.

2. The use of the remote-visible demonstrative/pronoun *máas* 'that-vis.' here and throughout the story is a clear grammatical error, where the remote-invisible *ˈuwas* 'that-invis.' would have been the appropriate usage.

ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura máas pachʉ-a-ˈu ˈu ˈúu-pa
there-at-it-be 3s/s daughter-G-3s the/s there-DIR
So the daughter went looking

pʉsaghay-kwa-pʉga; tʉvʉpʉ ˈuru manu-khu̲-aqh pʉsaghay-pʉgay-aqh,
seek-go-REM country/O the/O all-O-it search-REM-it
that-a-way; she searched that whole country,

kách núu-maay-pʉa, máay-sapa̲ ˈuway sinawavi ˈuway
NEG person-find-REM/NEG 3s/O-MOD 3s/O Coyote/O the/O
but she couldn't find anyone, she saw only that one, Coyote;

pʉnikya-pʉgay-ˈu; ˈuni-u-chi̲, tava-yáakwi[-kyay]-khu̲, payu-kwa-pʉga;
see-REM-3s do-INC-SUB sun-sink-ANT-SUB return-go-REM
having done that, when it turned dusk, she went back home;

pi̲-pichu̲-kwa-pʉga kani-vaa-ˈu pia-y-ˈu-av, ˈú-vway-aqh pía-ˈu
RED-arrive-go-REM house/O-at-3s mother-G-3s-OWN there-at-it mother-3s
she arrived at her mother's house, and then her mother

ˈu tʉvʉy-pʉgay-ˈu: "kách-ˈuru-aa núuchi-vʉni-ˈwa?" "kachi-n" ˈáy-pʉga
the/s ask-REM-3s NEG-that-Q person-see-NEG NEG-1s say-REM
asked her: "Didn't you see anyone?" "I didn't" said the

mamachi̲ ˈu, "ˈuway-aa-sapa-n Sinawavi ˈuway pʉnikya[-qha]y-ˈu"
woman/s the/s 3s/O-O-MOD-1s Coyote/O the/O see-ANT-3s
young woman, "I only saw that Coyote" her

ˈáy-pʉga máas pachʉ-ˈu; "ˈuvwi-chaa-khwa-ˈu paˈay-khwa-ˈu Sinawavi
say-REM 3s/s daughter-3s HORT-INC-go-3s call-go/IMP-3s Coyote/O
daughter said; "Well go invite that Coyote";

ˈuway"; "ˈʉʉ-máy" ˈáy-pʉga pachʉ-ˈu ˈu.
the/O yes-say say-REM daughter-3s the/s
"Yes" said her daughter.

ˈuni-u-chi̲ ˈúu-pa miya-pʉga Sinawavi ˈuway
do-INC-SUB there-DIR go-REM Coyote/O the/O
Having done that, the daughter went that-a-way towards

kani[-vaa-tukhwa̲]-ˈura; ˈu-vwaa pichʉ-khwa-pʉga ˈuwayas kani-vaa
house/O-at-go-be there-at arrive-go-REM 3s/G house/O-at
Coyote's house; presently she arrived at

Sinawavi; ˈú-vway-aqh ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwa-chukhwa̲: "nʉnay ˈuway pía-n
Coyote/G there-at-it say-REM 3s/O-go 1s/G the/G mother-1s
Coyote's house; then she said to him: "My mother invites you over"

paˈay-ʉmʉ̲” ˈáy-pʉga; “kách” ˈáy-pʉga Sinawavi̲ [ˈu], “nʉ́ˈ ˈuni-vaa-ˈwa”
call-2s say-REM NEG say-REM Coyote/s the/s 1s/s do-IRR-NEG
she said; “No” said Coyote, “I will not come”

ˈáy-pʉga Sinawavi̲ [ˈu]; “nʉ́nay-aa piwa-ri-vaa-ni-aa-n?” ˈáy-pʉga
say-REM Coyote/s the/s 1s/O-Q spouse-do-IRR-FUT-Q-1s say-REM
said Coyote; “Will you marry me then?”

mamachi̲ ˈu; “kách ˈáy-kya-n ˈuni-vaa-ˈwa” ˈáy-pʉga Sinawavi̲ ˈu;
woman/s the/s NEG say-ANT-1s do-IRR-NEG say-REM Coyote/s the/s
the young woman asked; “I said I won’t do it” said Coyote;

ˈú-vway-aqh Sinawavi̲ ˈáy-pʉga: “ˈuvwiya-n-aqh kukwi-vaa-kʉ̲
there-at-it Coyote/s say-REM HORT-1s-it shoot-IRR-SUB
then Coyote said: “But let me shoot it (into)

sʉipʉ-a-mʉ̲ ˈuru; ˈú-vway-aqha-n kh-ˈura ˈʉmʉy-way-ma̲-pa
urine/O-G-2s the/O there-at-it-1s then-be 2s/O-with-LOC-DIR
your urine;[3] then I will go with you to your

pía-y-a-mʉ̲ ˈuway kani ˈu-vwaa-tukhwa̲” ˈáy-pʉga Sinawavi̲.
mother-O-G-2s the/G hiouse/O there-at-go say-REM Coyote/s
mother’s house” Coyote told her.

> “ˈuvwiiya, ˈu-vwaa-na̲ kani-chʉ-khwa, ˈú-vway-aqh-kway ˈuru
> HORT there-at-LOC house-build-go/IMP there-at-it-MOD that/O
> “Go ahead, build a shelter over there, then you

cha̲kua-vaa-ku sʉnʉpʉ-aa-n” [ˈay-pʉga ˈuwas mamachi̲ ˈu]. “ˈʉʉ-máy”
trench-IRR-it vagina-G-1s say-REM 3s/s woman/s the/s yes-say
can trench my vagina”[4] said the young woman; “Alright”

ˈáy-pʉga Sinawavi̲ [ˈu], ˈúu-pa nukwi-kwa-pʉga, ˈuni-u-chi̲
say-REM Coyote/s the/s there-DIR run-go-REM do-INC-SUB
said Coyote, and he ran off that-a-way, and having done that,

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3. Sapir refused to render “I will shoot (it into) your urine” into English in his translation, instead translating the offending clause into Latin. He tips his hand, however, in the inter-lineal gloss. In a footnote on the translation, he notes that the Paiute phrase ‘shoot it into the woman’s urine’ is a common male slang for copulation.

4. Sapir again translates the offending expression into Latin, giving the verb meaning as ‘tamp’. The Ute meaning of this verb, ‘dig’ or ‘trench’, makes better sense, yielding the earthy slang expression “dig (into) my vagina”.

'u-vwaa-tʉ kani-chʉ-kwa-pʉga; 'uni-maku-pʉgay-ku, 'ú-vway-aqh
there-at-DIR house-build-go-REM do-finish-REM-it there-at-it
he started building a shelter that way; he finished doing it,

pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u pana-kway-kṵ-'u; 'ú-vway-aqh 'avi-tʉga-na-pʉga
see-REM-3s leave-go-SUB-3s there-at-be lie-approach-HAB-REM
then saw the young woman as she was coming back; he was lying

'u-vwaa-tʉ̱ kani-chʉ-kwa-na-av; 'uni-u-chi̱ 'uwas mamachi̱ 'u
there-at-NOM house-build-go-REL-OWN do-INC-SUB 3s/s woma/s the/s
down there in the house he had built; then having done that, the young

pʉi-kwa-ti-pʉgay-'u 'uwayas sinawavi 'uway; 'u-vway-aqh 'uwas sinawavi̱
sleep-go-CAUS-REM-3s 3s/o Coyote the/o there-at-it 3s/s Coyote/s
woman made Coyote fall asleep; so Coyote slept; and while he

'u pʉi-pʉga; 'uni-u-chi̱ mamachi̱ 'u 'uwa-vaa-na̱ pi̱-pichʉ-pʉga,
the/s sleep-REM do-INC-SUB woman/s the/s 3s/o-at-LOC RED-arrive-REM
was sleeping the young woman kept creeping close to him and

tachi-a-'u sinawavi kanʉga-vaa-tukwa̱ sʉi-pʉga, supay-pʉgay-'u
head-G-3s Coyote/G hollow-at-go urinate-REM leave-REM-3s
she urinated at a hollow by his head, and then left him there

pʉi-kṵ-'u; miya-tʉga-'wi-chi̱, tapʉ'ni-ti-pʉgay-'u.
sleep-SUB-3s far-come-??-SUB wake.up-CAUS-REM-3s
sleeping; and when she moved further way, she woke him up.

'uwas 'ú-vwa-aqh Sinawavi̱ 'u tapʉ'ni̱-pʉga: "'áy-kh" 'áy-pʉga,
3s/s there-at-it Coyote/s the/s wake.up-REM say-IMM say-REM
Now Coyote woke up: "Oh" he said,

"'áy-[pʉ]-'u 'agha-kwa-pʉay-'u? 'i-vee-ni-aa-'u pichʉ-ka-tʉ̱?"
say-NOM-3s WH-go-REM-3s here-at-like-Q-3s come-ANT-NOM
"where has she gone? Didn't she come here?"

'u-vway-aqh pʉnikya-pʉgay-ku sʉi-kyay-na-'u, 'u-vwaa-tʉ
there-at-it see-REM-it urinate-ANT-*REL*-3s there-at-DIR
Then he saw what she had urinated (on) him, so while going he

mani-miya-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh 'uni-u-mi-chi̱, marʉ-na-pʉgay-'u,
do.like-go-REM there-at-it do-INC-??-SUB ??-HAB-REM-3s
did like this that-a-way; then having done that, he chased after her and

wachuwi̱-pʉgay-'u; 'uni-u-chi̱ cha̱'ay-pʉgay-'u, 'uni-u-kṵ: "'uvwiaa-ku-n
catch.up-REM-3s do-INC-SUB catch-REM-3s do-??-SUB HORT-it-1s
caught up with her; having done that he grabbed her, and having done

tɵ'na-vaa-ku sʉipʉ-a-mʉ" 'áy-pʉga sinawavi 'u; "kách" 'áy-pʉga
stab-IRR-SUB urine-G-2s say-REM Coyote/S the/S NEG say-REM
that (he said): "Let me stab your urine"[5] said Coyote; "No" said the

mamachi 'u, "kani-chʉ-khway" 'áy-pʉgay-'u, "kách 'áavʉ
woman/S the/S house-build-go/IMP say-REM-3S NEG now
young woman, "first you go build a house", "she told him, "but don't go to

pʉi-vaa-'wa"; "'ʉʉ-may" 'áy-pʉga Sinawavi 'u;
sleep-IRR-NEG yes-say say-REM Coyote/S the/S
sleep this time"; "Alright" said Coyote;

'úu-pa nukwi-kwa-pʉga-s-'u, 'uni-u-ku, 'u-vwaa-tʉ
there-DIR run-go-REM-C-3S do-INC-SUB there-at-DIR
So Coyote ran off that-a-way, and having done that,

kani-chʉ-pʉga-s-'u; 'uni-u-chi 'úu-pa-s 'uni-u-pʉga, pʉi-kwa-pʉga
house-build-REM-C-3S do-??-SUB there-DIR-C do-INC-REM sleep-go-REM
he built a shelter there; and having done that he did the same, he fell asleep

kani-chʉ-maku-chi; 'uwas mamachi 'u 'úu-pa-s 'ani-pʉgay-'u;
house-build-finish-SUB 3S/S woman/S the/S there-at-C do-REM-3S
after finishing building the house; and that young woman did the same to him;

'uni-u-chi 'ichay 'úu-pa-s 'ani-gya, pía-y-av 'uway
do-??-SUB this/O there-DIR-C do-PAR mother-G-OWN 3S/O
and having done that, doing the same again, she hurried back to her

kani pichʉ-kwa-pʉga.
house/O arrive-go-REM
mother's house; (and Coyote followed her there).

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh mama-saghoy-chi 'u 'áy-pʉga: "'i-vee
3S/S there-at-it woman-belly-NOM/S the/S say-REM here-at
Now the old woman told Coyote: "Now

'icha-kway tʉna-khwa!" "'ʉʉ-may" 'áy-pʉga Sinawavi 'u, 'úu-pa
this/O-MOD hunt-go/IMP yes-say say-REM Coyote/S the/S there-DIR
you go hunting this way!" "Alright" said Coyote, and

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5. See Footnote 3, above. Coyote now uses a variant, "stab (into) your urine", rather than the previous "shoot (into) your urine". Sapir still translates the offending clause into Latin, though his inter-lineal gloss is a dead giveaway.

Sinawavi tʉna-khwa-pʉga; ʻu-vwaa-tukhwa tʉiyʉ paqha-pʉga,
Coyote/s hunt-go-REM there-at-go deer/o kill-REM
he went hunting that-a-way; he killed a deer there,

payu-khwa-pʉga; 'uni-u-chi, mamʉs-ukh[6] na-vía-wa-amʉ
come-go-REM do-INC-SUB 3p/s-it REC-mother-with-3p
then came back; and having done that, they ate the meat

tʉka-pʉgay-aqh-amʉ tʉkuavi 'uru.
eat-REM-it-3p meat/o the/o
together with the mother.

'ú-vway-aqh 'uwas mamachi 'u tʉiyʉ-a-y 'ʊʊ-a-y na-rʉkwa
there-at-it 3s/s woman/s the/s deer-G-O bone-G-O REFL-under
Now the young woman took the deer's bones and put them

yuna-pʉga; 'uni-u-chi, wʉnʉ'a-pʉgay-ku marʉs sʉnʉpʉ-a-'u 'ú[-naagha];
put-REM do-INC-SUB notch-REM-it that garbage-G-3s there-in
under her; having done that, she notched them in her vagina;[7]

'ú-vway-aqh Sinawavi tʉna-khwa-pʉga-s, tʉvʉchi 'átʉ-puchuchugwa-pʉga
there-at-it Coyote/s hunt-go-REM-C very well-know-REM
in the mean time Coyote went hunting again, he knew very well that

mamachi 'uway tawa-ghay-ku-aqh marʉs sʉnʉpʉ-a-'u ['u-naagha];
woman/G the/G tooth-have-SUB-it that garbage-G-3s there-in
the young woman had those teeth in her vagina;

'uni-u-chi, 'u-vwaa-tʉ nagha-kumaa-y 'uwas pakha-khwa-pʉga;
do-INC-SUB there-at-DIR big.horn-male-O 3s/s kill-go-REM
having done that, he killed a big-horn ram out there;

'uni-u-chi-'u, nʊʊ-khwa-pʉgay-'u kani-vaa-tukhwa.
do-INC-SUB-3s carry-go-REM-3s house-at-go
and having done that, he carried it back to the house.

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6. Here again, the use of the remote-visible pronoun mamʉs 'they-vis.' is clearly ungrammatical, and should rather be *'umʉs* 'they-invis.'

7. Again, Sapir translates the offending clause into Latin, but leaves the interlineal gloss. Sapir's English translation "Ground them in her vagina" makes much less sense than the Ute rendition "notched them in her vagina"; hence the subsequent reference to 'teeth.'

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh mamachi̲ 'u nagha-y 'uway kura-y-a-'u
3s/s there-at-it woman/s the/s bighorn-G 3s/G neck-G-O
Now the young woman (took) the neck bone of the bighorn ram and

'ʊʊ-a-y na-rʉkwa̲ chíi-'ini-kya-pʉga; 'uni-kyay-ku̲, marʉs tawa-y-ku
bone-G-O REFL-under ??-do-ANT-REM do-ANT-SUB that tooth-O-it
stuck it under herself; having done that, all those teeth in her

marʉ sʉnʉpʉ-a-'u manu-ni ma'ay-kwa-pʉga; 'uni-u-chi̲ tugwa-ri-u-khu̲,
that/O garbage-G-3s all-S lose-go-REM do-??-SUB night-do-INC-SUB
vagina were lost inside;[8] having done that, when it turned night,

mani-maku-pʉga: "'ini-vaa-chi-n 'ani-kh tuú-mani-miya-kay-in";
do.like-finish-REM do-IRR-NOM-1s do-IMM strong-do.like-go-ANT-1s
Coyote did like this (and said:) "I'm going to do it this way in a hurry"

tʉ́ʉ-tʉka-pʉga, 'uwa-vaa-tʉ yʉu-chi-mana-tʉ-a-'u; 'ú-vway-aqh
well-eat-REM 3s/O-at-NOM/O fat-NOM-leave-NOM-G-3s there-at-it
(the cooking; he said); he ate well, from its fat;[9] then

'áy-pʉga sinawavi̲ 'u: "'ícha̲ wʉgʉpʉ̲ níaa-ga-vaa-tʉ̲ kách
say-REM Coyote/s the/s this/s vagina name-have-IRR-NOM NEG
Coyote said: "This here vagina should not

tawa-gha-vaa-'wa-tʉ̲".
tooth-have-IRR-NEG-NOM
have teeth".[10]

'ú-vway-aqh 'áy-pʉga máas mama-sagoy-chi̲ 'u: "'ʉvʉs,
there-at-i say-REM 3s/s woman-belly-NOM/s the/s end
So then the old woman told Coyote: "Enough, go back to

tʉvʉpʉ-a-y-av 'úu-'ura payu-kwa, 'ichay-kway kunavʉ
country-G-O-own there-be return-go/IMP this/O-MOD bag/O
your own country, and carry this bag with you;

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8. The last clause is again given in Latin in Sapir's rendition, using *relaxavit* for the Ute *ma'ay-kwa-* 'get loose'. Sapir's intermediate gloss has it as the less accurate 'broke off'.

9. The referent of *-'u* (3s) is probably 'its', i.e. the big-horn ram Coyote had killed.

10. The last offending clause is again given in Latin. From here onward comes the creation story that overlaps with the Ute account (1,2).

nɵ́ɵ-miya-vaa; kach-aqh ˈuru-kway súuparay-vaay-ˈway-aqh,
carry-go-IRR NEG-it that/O-MOD untie-IRR-NEG-it
do not under any circumstances untie it,

ˈa-vaa-náaghᵃ̲-tʉ ˈipʉ ˈiya-nᵃ̲ ˈáy-sapᵃ̲”; “ˈʉʉ-máy” ˈáy-pʉga Sinawaviˍ
there-at-in-DIR WH/O here-LOC say-MOD yes-say say-REM Coyote/S
no matter what noise comes from in here”; “Alright” said Coyote,

ˈu, ˈúu-pa payu-kwa-pʉga; ˈu-vwaa ˈáy-pʉga: “ˈani-a-ˈu ˈáy-kh,
the/S there-DIR return-go-REM there-at say-REM WH-O-3S say-IMM
and he took off that-a-way back home; but then he said: “What did she say,

kach-aqh súuparay-vaa-ˈwa ˈáy-gya?” ˈáy-pʉga Sinawaviˍ ˈu;
NEG-it untie-IRR-NEG say-PAR say-REM Coyote/S the/S
saying don’t untie it?” said Coyote;

ˈú-vway-aqh sinawaviˍ-aqh kunaavʉ ˈuru súuparay-pʉgay-ku;
there-at-it Coyote/S-it bag/O the/O untie-REM-it
so he untied the bag; and right there

ma-vaa-togho-nᵃ̲ ˈuni-u-chiˍ kwicha-karʉ-pʉga; “ˈáy-kh-ˈu!” ˈáy-pʉga
there-at-right-LOC do-INC-SUB defecate-sit-REM say-IMM-3S say-REM
having done that, he sat and defecated; “Say!” said Coyote,

Sinawaviˍ, kunavʉ[-vaa-tukhwᵃ̲] pɵ́ɵ-yáqhiˍ-pʉga, tʉ́ʉ-wʉnʉ-yáakwiˍ
Coyote/S bag/O-at-go path-break-REM well-stand-sink
and he beat a path to the bag, and he quickly

ma-chóghwa-pʉga.
hand-press-REM
pressed it shut.

nani-na-vaa-tugwa pɵ́ɵ-aagha-pʉga, pʉ́-pa-amʉ̲ manu-khu̲-tʉ-paa-tʉ
REC-LOC-at-go trail-have-REM REL-DIR-3P all-O-DIR-NOM-DIR-DIR
Now, there were trails there going in all directions, through which all kinds

nu-núuchi-u mi-miya-u-kway-nᵃ̲; piya-ˈwi-chi kunavʉ kutu-a-va
RED-person-PL RED-go/PL-INC-go-REL remain-??-NOM/O bag/G bottom-G-at
of people started running away; of those which remained at the bottom of the bag

núu-rʉ̲-pʉgay[-amʉ̲]; ˈuni-maku-kway-ku̲, máa-pa-tʉ
person-make-REM-3P do-finish-ANT-SUB there-DIR-DIR
Coyote made the People (Utes); having finished doing that,

ˈuwa-wagha-tugwa-tʉ ka-ghani ˈúu-pa-tʉ na-naˈay-pʉga.
3s/O-around-go-DIR RED-house/O there-DIR-DIR RED-burn-REM
all around him there they were burning houses all over there'[11]

11. While severely compacted and shorn of the Ute *Sinawavi̱* as the senior partner in Creation, the story of Coyote opening the bag against instruction – here from the old woman – and then scattering most peoples all over the earth, and then creating the People – the Utes – from the few left over, closely parallels the Ute account. One may conjecture, on scant evidence to be sure, that the old woman, having failed to mate her only daughter to Coyote, tricked him into becoming the Creator – father – of the People by consigning the bag to his care. A further conjecture would be that the old woman was quite deliberate in telling Coyote not to open the bag, knowing his restless character, and thus making the So. Paiute creation account less of an accident. Speculating in the same vein about Sinawavi̱'s motives in the Ute account is less plausible.

TEXT 4

The stealing of the fire

told by: Julius Cloud
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲, tʉvʉchi̲ wíitʉs; mámu̲-'uru,
past be-REM-BG very past 3p/S-that
'It was long ago, long time ago; those ones,

wu̲-wʉsia-gha-tʉ-mu̲, mámu̲-'uru núuchi-u-gwa-y-amu̲-'uru,
RED-feather-have-NOM-PL 3p/S-that person-PL-be-IMM-3p-that
the feathered ones, those ones used to be human,

miya-vərə-pʉga-[vachi̲]; miya-vərə-khu̲… kani-gya-mi-kway…
walk/PL-go-REM-BG go/PL-go-SUB house-have-HAB-MOD
they used to wander about; when they used to migrate… they lived

'uwas-'ura 'uway, sinawavi̲ 'uway… 'ú-'u̲way-kway ta'waavi-gya-mi…
3s/S-be 3s/O Sinsawav/s 3s/O RED-3s/O-MOD chief-be-HAB
(at different places)… and he, Sinawav… he was their chief…

miya-'ni-chi-mu̲ 'umʉ 'ú-vway-aqh…
go/PL-INT-NOM-PL/S 3p/G there-at-it
when they were wanderers then…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'urus… tugwa-khwa̲-pʉga, 'uru̲ tavachi̲
there-at-it-be that/s night-go-REM that/s sun/s
Then… all of a sudden it turned night, the sun

tumay-kwa-u-pʉgaa-ni; 'umʉs-'ura 'ú-vwaa yugwi-pʉga,
dark-go-INC-REM-like 3p/S-be there-at sit/PL-REM
turned dark; and they were sitting there,

pa'a-ka-pʉni-ta-na-tʉ-pa, pʉ́aa-y-'u 'uway sinawavi;
complete-NEG-see-PASS-ANT/NEG-NOM-DIR kin-G-3s 3s/G Sinawav/G
totally unable to see, Sinawav's kin;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas: "'agha-ni-gya-paa-ni-'ura? 'i-vee-tukhwa tavachi
there-at-it-be 3s/s WH-do-PL-IRR-FUT-be here-at-go sun/s
so then he (said): "What shall we do? The sun used to

pana-'ni-na-pʉga, pana-mani-kya-na-pʉgaa-ni 'u-vwaa-tʉ" (máy-pʉga),
shine-INT-HAB-REM shine-do.like-ANT-HAB-REM-do there-at-DIR say-REM
shine here, it used to shine just like that there" he said,

'uru yugwi-kʉ-amʉ… yugwi-na-pʉga 'umʉs… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru
that/O sit/PL-SUB-3p sit/PL-HAB-REM 3p/S there-at-it-be-that
while they were sitting… they were sitting… So then

'uwas 'áy-pʉga: "mʉni-aa-tʉ-'uru kunachi 'ini-kwa-gupʉ… kunachi
3s/s say-REM 2p-PART-NOM-that ember/O make-go-SUBJ ember/O
he said: "One of you will have to make fire now… he will have to

'ini-kwa-gupʉ… mʉni 'í-'iyʉyi-kʉ-gupʉ kh-'ura…
make-go-SUBJ 2p/O RED-steal-BEN-SUBJ then-be
make fire… he will have to go and steal (the fire) for you then…

['ú-vway-aqh-'ura] 'uway múutatachi 'uway… kʉmas 'ura-vachi-s…
there-at-it-be 3s/O humminbird/O 3s/O other/s be-BG-C
So then the hummingbird… it was another one…

'uwa-ra-tʉ-mʉ-sʉ-ni… pʉ́ka-yʉchi-rʉ-mʉ, pʉ́ka-manay-rʉ-mʉ…
3s/O-be-NOM-AN-C-like fast-fly-ADJ-AN/O fast-move-NOM-AN/O
one very much like him… a fast flying one, a fast moving one…

[A missing part here: The hummingbirds fly into enemy country and approach an enemy group sitting around the fire.]

'ú-vway-aqh-'unuv kh-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-cháwi…
there-at-it-TOP then-be-that do-??-REM there-at-come
So right then (one of the hummingbirds) did this (flutter his wings),

'umʉs-'ura… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'u-vwaa pichʉ-gway-kya-pʉga
3p/s-be there-at-it-be there-at come-go-PL-REM
in that direction… then they (the other hummingbirds) arrived there in their

togho-sʉ-ni-av-'uru, kunachi 'í-'iyʉyi-pərə-rʉ,
right-C-like-OWN-that ember/O RED-steal-go/PL-NOM
good time, and they snatched the embers while (the people sitting there)

ta-tamu'way-kyay-khʉ-'ura… máy-kya-pʉay-aghay-'u… kʉmas
RED-watch-PL-SUB-be say-PL-REM-BG-3s other/s
were watching (the one flickering his wings)… they were talking about him…

'ura-vachi-'u, 'ʉ́ʉ-'u pichʉ-gway-kya-tʉ-'u…
be-BG-3s real-3s come-go-ANT-REL-3s
it was the other one (flickering his wings), who arrived earlier…

pina-khwa-'uru 'umʉs-'uru… na'a-ti-mi-tʉ-mʉ-'uru
follow-go-that/O 3p/s-that/O fire-CAUS-HAB-NOM-PL/S-that
So then they… the fire-makers snatched it

kʉʉ-pʉgay-ku… tugu-tugwa-amʉ kwáa-u-pachi-mʉ… 'ʉ́ʉʉʉ…
take-REM-it sky-go-3p run-INC-BG-PL INTJ…
(the embers)… and they took off to the sky… éeee…

nava-yugwi-amʉ wʉnʉ-gwa-vachi-mʉ, kʉʉ-kwa-chi-khʉ-amʉ…
REC-sit/PL-3s stand-go-BG-PL take-go-NOM-it-3s
they flew close together packed tight together, having snatched it…

'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… pa'a-ma'ayi-ti-kya-pachi-amʉ, kachʉ-umʉ…
INTJ complete-lost-CAUS-PL-BG-3s NEG-3s
éeee… they got (the enemy) completely lost, they (the enemy) didn't…

ka-muana-khwa-qha-tʉ-mʉ…
NEG-succeed-go-PL-NOM-PL
they didn't succeed (in catching them)…

'ʉvʉs, 'u-vwa-amʉ-'ura-'uru 'umʉas tʉvʉpʉ-va-av
end there-at-3s-be-that 3p/G land/O-at-OWN
So in the end, they arrived back in their

pi-pichʉ-kwa-pʉga… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru na'a-ti-kya-ri-pʉga…
RED-arrive-go-REM there-at-it-be-that fire-CAUS-PL-??-REM
country… then they lighted the fire… they lighted the fire…

na'a-ti-kya-pʉga… 'ú-vway-aqh… pʉni-ta-pʉga 'ʉvʉs 'ú-vway-aqh…
fire-CAUS-PL-REM there-at-it see-PASS-REM end there-at-it
then…one could finally see then…

pʉni-ta-qha-pʉga… púupa 'uni-kya-[miya]-na…
see-PASS-ANT-REM way do-PL-HAB-REL
one could see now… the way they used to (before the sun went away)…

'úmʉ wáy-ku 'úmʉ… 'umʉ kʉʉ-vi yugwi-kya-na 'ura-pʉga,
3p/s two-O 3p-/s 3p/G snatch-NOM sit/PL-ANT-REL be-REM
Those two… were the ones who snatched—while those others sat there –

kunachi 'uru… míiyh-tʉ-[mʉ] núuchi-u 'umʉ na'a-tʉ yugwi-kya-na…
ember/O that/O far-NOM-PL/G person-PL 3p/GEN fire-DIR sit/PL-ANT-REL
the embers… while those other people were sitting there around the fire…

máy-'uru… máy-kya-mi 'uru… wíitʉs-'uru miya-'ni-pʉ̲-'uru…
say-that say-PL-HAB that/O past-that go/PL-INT-NOM-that
They say… they say that… it happened long ago…

'ú-vway-aqh 'ura-pʉga-tʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲-'uru; máy-kya-aqh-'uru,
there-at-t be-REM-NOM be-BG-that say-PL-it-that
it is something that happened then; they tell it,

pʉ̲sariniya-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲-'uru, 'ú-vway tugwa-sapa-khwa-s 'áa'way-ni…
story.tell-PL-NOM-PL/S-that there-at go-MOD-go-C clear-like
the story-tellers, that's as far as it is clear…'

TEXT 5

Sinawav and the seven sisters[1]

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 9-7-83
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine Cloud Smith

'uwas 'ura-pʉga Sinawavi̲… 'umʉ cha̲quura-y-u 'umʉ-kway…
3s/s-be-REM Sinawav/s 3p/G crane-G-PL 3p/G-MOD
There was Sinawav… it was those cranes… where they

'umʉ-aa pʉ-paay-amu̲ ya-yagha-kway-pʉ… 'uwas-'ura
3p-G REL-DIR-3p RED-cry-go-NOM 3s/s-be
were crying as they were passing above… and he was lying there watching…

'avi-pʉni-gya… 'umʉ Sinawavi-u yúa-va-tʉ tavi-navichi-pʉga, 'úmu̲
lie-watch-PAR 3p/G Sinawav-PL PLain-at-DIR step-PL-REM 3p/s
and they landed down in a upon the open country of his clan, those cranes,

cha̲quraa-u, 'uwa-vaa-chʉ… 'uwas-'ura: "'agha-ni-uchaa?" 'áy-pʉga-amu̲,
crane-PL 3s/O-at-DIR 3s/s –be WH-do-INC say-REM-3p
right next to him… So he said: "What are you planning to do?" he asked them,

"'iya-na̲ mʉni̲-'ura 'agha-paa pɵrɵ-khwa-gha 'ani-kh̲?" máy-pʉga
here-LOC 2p-be WH-DIR go/PL-go-PAR do-IMM say-REM
"where are you taking off from here?" he asked them.

'uwas; "'i-vaa-nʉmu̲ 'ani-kh̲ pɵrɵ-kwa-y nagukwi-ta-miya-gha"
3s/s here-at-1p do-IMM go/PL-go-IMM fight-PASS-HAB-PAR
"Here we are going through because there is going to be fighting"

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1. This is one of the longest and most complex stories in our collection, cementing for eternity Sinawav's fall from grace. He is depicted here as a cheating, incestuous, greedy fornicator and schemer, a prototype for many of the most anti-social traits of humans. Whether this is a subtle commentary on the nature of the divine Creator, or is a clear split off the Creator's personality, remains unclear.

máy-kya-pʉga-'ura 'umʉs chaquura-u; "mʉ́ni-'ara nʉnay kach
say-PL-REM-be 3p/S crane-PL 2p-be 1s/O NEG
they said, those cranes. "Won't you carry me over

'u-vwaa-tʉ nóʊ-'wa-y-'ura… nʉ́-aa mʉni ka-ta'wa-pʉari-nʉ-wa-tʉ?"
there-LOC-DIR carry-NEG-IMM-be 1s-Q 2p/G NEG-man-help-IMP-NEG-NOM
there with you… Can't I be your man-helper?"

máy-pʉga núgway, chaquura-y-u 'umʉ yagha-kway-miya-kʉ-amʉ
say-REM TOP crane-G-PL 3p/G cry-go-go/PL-SUB-3p
he asked, as the cranes were crying on their way through,

máy-pʉga 'uwas; kh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru 'áy-kya-pʉga: "táa-gha".
say-REM 3s/S then-be 3p/S-that say-PL-REM IMP-PAR
he asked; so they said: "Go ahead".

kh-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-pʉga, whsiaavi ma-magha-pʉay-aghay-'u, nani
the-be-that do-??-REM feather/O RED-give-REM-CL-3s each
So it was done, they gave him feathers, each one gave him one,

súu-kus, yʉchi-'a-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; 'uwas kh-'ura ka-'ay-mi-wa,
one-O fly-??-REM-be 3s/S 3s/S then-be NEG-good-HAB-NEG
so now he could fly; but then he misbehaved,

resti-kya-khay-kʉ-'ura, sʉ'i-mi qova-mi-amʉ tugwa-amʉ,
rest-PL-ANT-SUB-be pee-HAB face-LOC-3p go-3p
when they were resting, he would urinate in front of them, when they

yúaa-va-tʉ-amʉ tavi-navichi-kʉ; kh-'ura-'uru… kách… sú-iini 'áy-pʉga:
plain-at-DIR-3p step-PL-SUB then-be-that no one-S say-REM
landed in open country; so then… no… one of them said:

"kachi-n 'ásti-wa máa-y 'uni-'a-vaa-ku, tawi-aa máy-uchaa-va?"
NEG-1s want-NEG 3s-G do-??-IRR-NOM we-Q say-INC-IRR
"I don't want that one to come with us, won't he get us into trouble?"

máy-pʉga; kh-'ura-'uru "toghoy-nugwa marʉ whsiaavi
say-REM then-be-that good-TOP that/O feather/O
he said; then "it would be better to pluck those feathers

tʉ-tuvʉ-cha'a-nʉ" máy-pʉga; kh-'ura kwavi-'aa-gha-amʉ
RED-pluck-catch-IMP say-REM then-be lie/PL-??-PAR-3p
(off him)" he said; so then when they all lay asleep,

tu-tuvʉ-cha'a-pʉgay-ku 'umʉs: "whsia-y marʉ nʉ́nay 'uni-aa 'ura-'ay"
RED-PLuck-catch-REM-it 3p/S feather-O that/O 1s/G POSS-G be-IMM
they plucked them off: "This feather is mine"

'áy-pʉga sú-iini; 'uwas 'u-vwaa-s pʉ̲-pʉi-pʉga.
say-REM other-s 3s/s there-at-C RED-sleep-REM
each one said; and all the while Sinawav kept sleeping there.

kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas pʉ̲-pʉi-gyay-kʉ̲-'uru tapʉ'ni-pʉga, 'umʉ-aa-tʉ̲
then-be-that he/s RED-sleep-PAR-SUB-that wake.up-REM 3p-PART-NOM/S
Then at last after sleeping on he woke up, one of the cranes

ya-yagha-pʉga 'ava-amʉ̲ yáasi-u-kʉ̲; 'u-vwaa-s
RED-cry-REM far-3p flock-INC-SUB there-at-C
kept crying as they flocked far away; so sinawav started

pa'a-'uwa-vʊrʊ-pʉga, sʉ̲-supaay-kya-pʉay-aghay-'u; 'uwas
complete-jump-go-REM RED-desert-PL-REM-CL-3s 3s/s
jumping up and down there frustrated, they had deserted him; so

pa'a-'uwa-vʊrʊ-khʉ̲-'uru, 'áy-pʉga: "'u-vwaa-chaa-n-'ura-'uru
complete-jump-go-SUB-that say-REM there-at-??-1s-be-that/O
while jumping up and down like that, he called out: "Would you please

nʊ́ʊghwa-tʉ pa̲-paqha-kʉ-gwa-tʉ̲?" máy-pʉga;
pregnant-NOM/O RED-kill-BEN-go-NOM say-REM
kill a pregnant woman for me?" he said;

"'uni-kya-paa-chi-mʉ̲-'uru" máy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs; "'u-vwaa-chaa-n-'ura-'uru
do-PL-IRR-NOM-PL-that say-PL-REM 3p/s there-at-??-1s-be-that/O
"We will do that" they said. "Then would you please

'uway nʊ́ʊghway-kya-na̲-'u yáa'wa-nʉ nʊ́-vwaa-chukhwa̲?" máy-pʉga; "'ʉʉ"
3s/O pregnant-PASS-REL-3s carry-IMP 1s-at-go say-REM yes
bring me the fetus she carried?" he said. "Alright"

'áy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs; pʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga-s-'ura.
say-PL-REM 3p/s go/PL-go-REM-be
they said; and they took off.

'umʉs-'ura 'i-vee-chʉ nʊ́ʊghwa-tʉ pa̲-paqha-khwa-pʉga;
3p/s-be here-at-DIR pregnant-NOM/O RED-kill-go-REM
And indeed they killed a pregnant woman there (during the war);

'uwa-núkwa̲-'uru 'ura-pʉga-miya-'u, kʉ-nʊʊ-pʊrʊ-pʉa-amʉ̲,
3s/O-TOP-that be-REM-HAB-3s mouth-carry-go/PL-REM-3p
and it was that one, they mouth-carried it,

'ú núu-ruach 'u, 'ava'na̲-pa nʊ́ʊ-ghwa-tʉ̲ páyuuvʉ-naagha̲…
that/s person-child the/s much-DIR carry-go-NOM cloth/O-in
that baby, they carried it far away wrapped in cloth…

núu-ruachi̲ 'u, cha̲quraa-y 'uway 'uni-'wa-pʉ̲ kh-'ura-'uru
person-child/s the/s crane-G 3s/O do-??-NOM then-be-that/O
the baby, that the cranes brought him and left with him; and

'uwa-vaa-chugwa-s-'u supaay-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-s 'uwas pagha-'ni-pʉga,
3s/O-at-go-C-3s leave-REM there-at-C 3s/s walk-INT-REM
Sinawav was parading around there, with all his feathers plucked off;

wh̲siaa-y-'u tu̲-tuvʉ-cha̲'a-qha-pʉa-vaay-av; 'uwa-nukwa̲-'uru
feather-O-3s RED-pluck-catch-PASS-REM-at-OWN 3s/O-TOP-that
and so he raised her (the baby girl)

nana-ti-pʉ-'u 'ura-'ay.
grow-CAUS-NOM-3s be-IMM
as his own daughter.

kh-'ura-'uru pina-khwa̲, nana-qhay-ku-chi̲-'ura, pachʉ-av 'uwas
then-be-that follow-go grow-ANT-SUB-NOM-be daughter-OWN 3s/s
Later on, when she was grown up, Sinawav

máy-pʉga: "'ʉvʉsaa, 'ʉ́mʉ̲-'ara pʉ́aa-u-gwa-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay, máa-pa kwáa
say-REM finish 2s/s-be kin-PL-have-NOM be-IMM there-DIR run/IMP
told his daughter: "That's it, you have kin, run back

pʉ́aa-u-vaa-chugwa-av payu-khwa!" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u, nana-qhay-khu̲-'u;
kin-PL-at-go-OWN return-go/IMP say-REM-CL-3s grow-ANT-SUB-3s
to your own kin!" he told her, when she was grown;

'uwas-'ura payu-kwa-pʉga, 'ú mamachi̲ 'u, náavi-gya-y.
3s/s-be return-go-REM that/s woman/s the/s teen.girl-be-IMM
so she went back, that woman, she was a teenage girl by then.

pina-khwa̲-'ura-'uru 'uwas… 'ina-khwa-pa'agha̲ tarukhwa-pʉga-s
follow-go-be-that 3s/s here-go-around climb-REM-C
But afterwards he… sneaked up there ahead of the girl,

kʉma-rukhwa̲, Sinawavi̲; kh-'ura 'umʉ súuuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni
other-go Sinawav/s then-be 3p/O other-NOM-PL-O-like
going the other way, Sinawav did; and he told those others

'umʉ nana-chigya-qha-na̲-av 'áy-pʉga: "'uvwiyaa…
3p/O REC-race-PL-REL-OWN say-REM HORT…
(her kin) that they should have a race: "Now lets…

ma-vaa-tugwa-sʉ-ni mawisi-vaa-ni mama-'áyh-pʉchi̲" 'áy-pʉga-s, "'ú
there-at-go-C-like appear-IRR-FUT woman-young-DIM/s say-REM-C that/s
over there a young woman will appear" he said, "and

kwáa-tʉ-mʉ-s 'u; namu cha'a-vʉ-sʉ̲-'a piwa-ghaa-vaa-ni" máy-pʉga.
run-NOM-AN-C the/s first chatch-NOM-C-3s spouse-have-IRR-FUT say-REM
she's a fast runner; the first one to catch her will wed her" he told them.

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'umʉ kwáa-navichi-tʉ-mʉ-'uru 'umʉ
the-be he-s-that 3p/o run-MASS-NOM-PL/O-that 3p/o
So then he raced those

nana-chigya-pʉga-amʉ̲; kh-'ura-'uru kʉma-u 'ava'nạ̲-tʉ-mʉ̲ manu-ni
REC-race-REM-3p then-be-that/o other-PL many-NOM-PL/s all-s
fast runners; many of the others were all

kwáa-navichi̲-'uru; kh-'ura múutatachi̲ 'ura-pʉga-s… 'ura-yis…
fast-MASS-that then-be hummingbird he-REM-C be-C
fast runners; there was hummingbird,

saghwa-ri-pʉchi̲ 'ura-pʉga-s, yoghovʉchi-u 'ura-pʉga-s,
blue.jay-do-DIM/s be-REM-C coyote-PL be-REM-C
and little blue-jay too, and the coyotes,

kwáa-navichi-rʉ-mʉ̲; 'umʉ-'ura-'uru nana-chigya-qha-pʉga 'uwas.
fast-MASS-NOM-PL 3p/O-be-that REC-race-ANT-REM 3s/s
fast runners all of them; so Sinawav raced them.

'umʉs-nukwạ̲-'ura-'uru suwa-kwáa-khwa-pʉay-aghay-'u 'uwayas
3p/SU-TOP-be-that almost-run-go-REM-CL-3s 3s/o
And to start with, they almost beat Sinawav in the race;

Sinawavi; kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru whchʉ-pagha-pʉga; "ma-mani-miya-s-'ara
Sinawav/o then-be 3s/s-that overtake-go-REM RED-do.like-HAB-C-be
but then he overtook them; "It always happens like this when you eat

wʉcha-rʉpʉy'napʉ 'uru tʉka-miya-kʉ̲" máy-pagha-pʉga-amʉ̲-'ura; 'umʉs
calf-muscle/o that/o eat-HAB-SUB say-go-REM-3p-be 3p/s
calf-muscle" he kept telling them; they were having calf-muscle cramps;[2]

kh-'ura wʉcha-rʉpʉy'na-qha-mi; 'áagha-kwáa-khwa-pʉga-amʉ̲-'ura 'uwas.
then-be calf-muscle-PL-HAB quiet-run-go-REM-3p-be 3s/s
he beat them by stealth (he had fed them calf-muscle before the race).

kh-'ura 'ú-'ʉ̲wa-nukwạ̲ 'ura-pʉga [náavi̲ 'u], piwa-ri-pʉ[gay]-'u,
the-be RED-3s-TOP be-REM girl/s the/s spouse-make-REM-3s
So it was that girl (the one he raised), he married her,

2. This alludes to a traditional medicinal belief that eating calf-muscles before a race would cause calf-muscle cramps.

tua-pʉ[gay]-'u-'ura-'uru, pina-khwa̲; páy-kunani pachʉ-u-gwa-pʉga…
bear-REM-3s-be-that/O follow-go three-O daughter-PL-have-REM
and later she bore him children; she had three [seven] daughters…[3]

súu-kus 'áapachi-gya-pʉga, 'ivi-pʉʉ-aagha-chi̲ níaa-gha-tʉ…
one-O boy/O-have-REM stick-fuzz-have-NOM/S name-have-NOM
and one boy, whose name was Wood-Fuzz…

kh-'ura 'uwas tʉna-khwa-pʉga… tʉna-khwa-pʉgay-ku̲-'ura-'uru,
then-be 3s/S hunt-go-REM hunt-go-REM-SUB-be-that/O
Then one day Sinawav went hunting… as he was hunting around,

yu'u-'u qopoqhi̲-kwa-pʉga; kh-'ura-'uru pachʉ-u-aa-tu̲-'u
leg-3s break-go-REM then-be-that daughter-PL-PART-NOM-3s
his leg broke; so then one of his daughters

nóʊ-'wa-pʉgay-'u… kʉʉ-vi-u-pʉgay-'u, qopoqhi̲-kyay-ku̲-'u;
carry-??-REM-3s pick.up-NOM-INC-REM-3s break-ANT-SUB-3s
carried him… she picked him up, when (his leg) had broken;

'uwas-'ura-'uru… nóʊ-'wa-vi-u-pʉgay-'u, pachʉ-'u 'u kh-'ura-'uru
3s/S-be-that/O carry-??-NOM-INC-REM-3s daughter-3s the/S then-be-that/O
then he… she carried him, his daughter did;

'uwas; 'uwa-rʉkwa̲-agha-tʉ sichi'ni̲-pʉga, pachʉ-av 'uway;
3s/S 3s/O-under-have-DIR peek-REM daughter-OWN 3s/O
and he peeked under her (dress), of his own daughter;

pina-khwa̲-'ura 'asti-u-na-pʉgay-'u ma'ay-chi-'u.
follow-go-be desire-INC-HAB-REM-3s see-NOM-3s
and as a result he started lusting after her, having seen her (private parts).

kh-'ura-'uru, 'uwas-'uru, pina-khwa̲-'uru, 'ú-'u̲way-'uru, 'ásti-pʉgay-'u,
then-be-that 3s/S-that follow-go-that RED-3s/O-that desire-REM-3s
So then, he, later on, her, he lusted after her,

pachʉ-av namu-tʉ-mʉ; kh-'ura-'uru kani-vaa-tugwa-khwa-pʉga.
daughter-OWN first-NOM-AN/O then-be-that house-at-go-go-REM
after his own first daughter; then they went home (with her carrying him).

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3. There is a contradiction between numbering his daughters as three here, and the end of the story where they turn into the Pleiades (Seven Sister, *sʊniaa-u*) constellation, identified there as Sinawav's seven daughters.

kani-vaa-tugwa-khwa-qhay-kṳ-'ura-'uru… naghamį-kwa-pʉay-agha,
house-at-go-go-ANT-SUB-be-that sick-go-REM-CONC
Well after coming back home… he fell ill,

nava-kway-pʉga-'uru; kh-'ura-'uru naghami-'avi-na-pʉga, kh-'ura-'uru
just-go-REM-that then-be-that sick-lie-HAB-REM then-be-that
just like that; so he was lying there sick, and later

pina-khwą ya'ay-kwa-pʉga; 'uru-'ura ya'ay-kwa-vachį 'áy-pʉga:
follow-go die-go-REM that-be die-go-BG say-REM
he was dying; so then as he was dying he said:

"'uru-'ura nʉnay ya'ay-kwa-qhay-ku-n, 'uru kukwapi-pa-tugwa-n
that/O-be 1s/G die-go-ANT-SUB-1s that/O firewood-DIR-go-1s
"Now when I have died, throw me on that pile

wʉnay-kya-n" máy-pʉga-'ura… 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura:
throw-PL/IMP-1s say-REM-be there-at-it-TOP-be-that 3s/s-be
of firewood" he told (his kin)… and then he (said):

"pʊrʊ-khwa-nʉ!" máy-pʉga-'ura… "'uru ya'ay-kwa-qhay-ku-n"
go/PL-go-IMP say-REM-be that/O die-go-ANT-SUB-1s
"Go on, leave!" he told them… "after I have died"

máy-pʉga; 'uni-kya-pʉga 'umʉs-'uru, ya'ay-kwa-qhay-kṳ-'u.
say-REM do-PL-REM 3p/s-that die-go-ANT-SUB-1s
he said; so they did that, after he died.

kh-'ura 'ú 'áapachį 'u pini-vʉni-paghay-kya: "'ú
the-be that/s boy/s the/s back-look-go-ANT that/s
Now his boy kept looking back (as he was leaving): "My deceased

múaa-ghapʉ-n kúupʉnu-kwa!" máy-pʉga; kh-'uru-'ura 'uwas sú-iini
father-DEFUN-1s roll.over-ANT say-REM then-that-be 3s/s other-S
father has just rolled over!" he cried; so another

pʉ́a-'u máy-vachį: "Kachʉ-'a pini-vʉni-kya-paa-'wa-ni máy-kya-ną-ukh"
kin-3s say-REM NEG-3s back-look-PL-IRR-NEG-FUT say-ANT-REL-it
relative said: "What he told us (was) not to look back"

máy-pʉga; "'uru-kh-'ura pini-vʉni-kyay-kṳ, 'ʊavʉ-ti-kwa-vaa-tʉ̱ 'ura-'ay"
say-REM that-then-be back-look-ANT-SUB salt-CAUS-go-IRR-NOM be-IMM
he said; "so that if you look back, you will turn into (a hunk of) salt"

máy-kya-pʉga-'ura 'umʉs, máy-kya-pʉgay-'u 'uway 'aapachi.
say-REM-be 3p/s say-PL-REM-3s 3s/O boy/O
they said, they told that boy.[4]

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru pina-khwa-s-'uru 'uwas kh-'uru 'áy-pʉga,
there-at-it-TOP-be-that follow-go-C-that 3s/s then-that say-REM
Now earlier on, before all of this, Sinawav had told them, when he was

'uru ya'ay-kya-vaa-chi̱: "máay-'ura pachʉ-aa-n, piwa-ri-nʉ
that die-ANT-IRR-NOM that/O-be daughter-G-1s spouse-make-IMP
about to die: "That daughter of mine, marry her to (the one)

ságharʉ[-mʉ] puku-gwa-tʉ 'ura-vaa-chi̱… tuku-sa'mapʉ-ga-tʉ
white/O[-PL] horse-have-NOM/O be-IRR-NOM cougar-blanket-have-NOM/O
who will come riding a white horse… to the one with a cougar

'ura-vaa-chi̱" máy-pʉga-kway.
be-IRR-NOM say-REM-MOD
blanket" that's what he had said.

kh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru 'uni-kya-pʉga, púupa máy-pʉ[ga]-na̱-'u;
then-be 3p/s-that do-PL-REM way say-REM-REL-3s
So they did that, the way Sinawav had told them;

kani-gya… kani-vaa-tugwa-s-av miya-pʉga 'umʉs,
house-have house-at-go-C-OWN go/PL-REM 3p/s
home… they all went home,

kani-yugwi-chi̱-aa-paa-tukhwa̱; kh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru pərə-khwa-pʉga,
house-sit/PL-NOM-O-DIR-go then-be 3p/s-thet go/PL-go-REM
to where their houses were clustered together; then they took off,

'u-vwaa-tukhwa̱ pərə-khwa-pʉga-vachi̱, miya-'uwaay-pʉga-vachi̱.
there-at-go go/PL-go-REM-BG go/PL-come/PL-REM-BG
they took off that way, coming back home.

'uwas-'uru pʉnikya-vərə-na-pʉga-vachi̱ 'áapachi̱ 'u, tʉsapa̱
3s/s-that see-go-HAB-REM-BG boy/s the/s always
In the mean time the boy kept looking around, always

tava-mawisi̱-mana-kwa-tukhwa̱, 'uway [púupa] máy-pʉay-[na]-'u
sun-rise-from-leave-go 3s/G way say-REM-REL-3s
moving away from the east, the way Sinawav had told him,

4. This may be, perhaps, a contamination from the Biblical story of Lot's wife.

Sinawavi, ságharʉ-mʉ puku-gwa-tʉ 'uway
Sinawav/G white-AN/O horse-have-NOM/O the/O
looking for the (one) on the white horse,

pʉsaghay-pʊrʊ-na-pʉga-vachi̲, pachichi-'u piwa-ri-vaa-na̲;
seek-go-HAB-REM-BG oldr.sis-3s spouse-make-IRR-REL
the one who would marry his older sister;

pina-kwa-na̲-'uru 'uni-pʉga, 'uwas pi̲chʉ-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura 'ura-pʉga,
follow-go-LOC-that do-REM 3s/S arrive-REM 3s/S-be be-REM
finally he did (see him), he arrived; it was him,

'ú sinawavi̲, ságharʉ-mʉ puku-gway-'ay!…
that/S Sinawav/S white-AN/O horse-have-IMM
Sinawav, riding a white horse!…

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru máy-pʉga: "'áavʉ̲-ukh-'ura
there-at-it-TOP-be-that 3s/S-that/O say-REM now-it-be
So then the boy told his people: "Here he

pi̲chʉ-y, 'uwa[y] máy-pʉay-[na̲]-'u múa-ghapʉ-aa-n" máy-pʉga-'ura
arrive-IMM 3s/G say-REM-REL-3s father-DEFUN-G-1s say-REM-be
is coming, the one my departed father told us about" he said,

'uwas, 'áapachi̲ 'u, "'uwa-chugwa-qha-kʉ" máy-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura
3s/S boy/S the/S 3s/O-go-PL-EMPH say-REM 3s/S-be
the boy did, "let's go meet him" he said; so his

pía-'u 'áy-pʉga: "'ʉvʉs-'u chika-ghwa" máy-pʉgay-'u,
mother-3s say-REM end-3s fetch-go/IMP say-REM-3s
mother said: "Alright, you go take him with you" she told him,

"tʉna-ti-kway-'a tata'wavi-mʉ̲" máy-pʉay-agay-'u; chika-vi-u-pʉgay-'u
hunt-CAUS-go/IMP-3s in.law-2s say-REM-CL-3s fetch-NOM-INC-REM-3s
"go take your in-law hunting" she told him; so the boy went to fetch

'áapachi̲ 'u; 'uwas-'uru 'u-vwaa karʉ-pʉga.
boy/S the/S 3s/S-that/O there-at sit-REM
him; and all the while Sinawav was sitting there (on his horse).

'uru kh-'ura-'uru ya'ay-kwa-qhay-ku̲-'uru, 'uwas-'uru
that then-be-that die-go-ANT-SUB-that 3s/S-that
Now earlier when Sinawav was dying, the boy

tawa-tunii-kya-pʉgay-'u… pa'a-manu-ni pachʉ-u-'u, 'íi-pa-kwa
tooth-dig.out-ANT-REM-3s complete-all-S daughter-PL-3s here-DIR-go
pulled out one of his teeth… all his daughters, (they did) just like

tawa-y-'u, ya'ay-kwa-qhay-kʉ̲-'uru, múa-y-av;
tooth-O-3s die-go-ANT-SUB-that/O father-g-own
this with his teeth, when he had been dying, their father's.

'uwas-'uru tʉna-ti-kwa-pʉgay-'u; kh-'ura 'ipʉ-sapa̲-aqh 'ura-vachi̲,
3s/s-that hunt-CAUS-go-REM-3s then-be WH-MOD-it be-BKGR
So the son took Sinawav hunting; and there was that what-cha-ma-call-it

páaqhachi̲, pʉ-paa-tʉ-amʉ̲ káaya-na-pʉ̲… 'úru̲-'ura 'uwas 'u-vwaa-tʉ
hole/s REL-DIR-DIR-3p stash-HAB-NOM that/s-be 3s/s there-at-DIR
there, a hole, where they used to stash (food)… that's where Sinawav

chichi'ni̲-pʉga; kh-'ura-'uru 'áapachi̲ 'u pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u, 'uwas-'ura
peek-REM then-be-that boy/s the/s see-REM-3s, 3s/s-be
peeked in there; that's when the boy saw him, (he saw that) he was

tʉna-khwa ta'ɵ-kʉsi-kya-pʉga; kh-'ura máy-pʉga: "'ʉ́mʉ̲-'ura nʉ́nay
down-go pale-grin-ANT-REM then-be say-REM 2s/s-be 1s/G
grinning toothless; so he said: "You are the one my

pachichi-aa-n 'uni-pʉgaa-pʉ̲ 'uru, marʉ-sa pía-y-aa-n, marʉ-sa
oldr.sis-G-1s do-REM-NOM that/O that/O-TOP mother-O-G-1s that/O-TOP
older sister did that to (pulled that tooth), and that one my mother did, and

súu-kunani, marʉ-sa nʉ́nay" máy-pʉga-'ura; pu̲chuchugwa-pʉgay-'u.
other-O that/O-TOP 1s/G say-REM-be know-REM-3s
that one someone else did, and that one I did" he said; he recognized him (by the missing teeth).

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru qha̲qharʉ̲-pʉga; kh-'ura-'uru 'ivichi
there-at-it-be-that run-REM then-be-that stick/O
Then the boy ran away; but before he did, he told a stick

'áy-pʉga: "Súu" 'áy-pʉga, ichay 'uru… 'ícha̲ 'úru̲… "sh-sh-sh
say-REM hey say-REM this/O the/O this/s the/s INTJ
(that was lying there): "Hey" he told that stick, "say sh-sh-sh"

máy-vaa-chi̲" 'áy-pʉgay-kʉ̲… 'uru 'ivichi… 'avi-gya máy-pʉga,
say-IRR-NOM say-REM-it that/O stick/O lie-PAR say-REM
he told it… that stick… (that was) lying there,

qha̲qharʉ̲[-khay-]kʉ̲-'u 'uway 'áapachi.
run-ANT-SUB-3s that/G boy/G
before that boy ran away.

kh-'ura máy-pʉga, pagha-nu̲kwi-pʉga 'uwas ['áapachi̲]…
then-be say-REM go-run-REM 3s/s boy/s
So the stick said that, and the boy took off running…

qha̲qharʉ̲-pʉga, 'áagha-nʉ̲kwi-kwa-pʉga kani-vaa-tugwa-av; kh-'ura
run-REM stealthily-run-go-REM house-at-go-OWN then-be
he ran, running stealthily towards home; then when he was still

míyh-tʉ̲-aa-s tavi-'wa-gha 'áy-pʉga… 'áy-pʉga… pachichi-aa-'u-'ura
far-NOM-PART-C step-??-PAR say-REM say-REM oldr.sister-G-3s-be
some way (from home) he said… he called out… it was his older sister's

níaa 'ura-pʉga: "tʉvʉ-sigipʉ̲…" 'ʉ́ʉʉ múa-y-av piwa-gha-tʉ̲…
name be-REM earth-crumble INTJ father-O-OWN spouse-have-NOM/S
name: "Crumbling-Shale"… 'ʉ́ʉʉ the one who mated with her father…

"tʉvʉ-sigi-pʉ̲" máy-pagha-pʉga 'uwas pi̲chʉ-'wa-gha, "tʉvʉ-sigipʉ̲"
earth-crumble-NOM say-go-REM 3s/s arrive-??-PAR earth-cumble
"Crumbling-Shale" he kept calling as he was approaching, "Crumbling-Shale"

'áy-pagha-pʉga 'uwas; "'ini-aa 'áy-kya-'u?" 'áy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas
say-go-REM 3s/s WH-O say-ANT-3s say-REM-be 3s/s
he kept calling; "What did he say?" asked their mother.

pi-viaa-amʉ̲. "núu-nia-gha-tʉ-aa, tʉvʉ-sigipʉ̲ máy-kya núgway"
RED-mother-3p person-name-have-NOM-O earth-crumble say-REM TOP
"Someone's name, Crumbling Shale I think" said

[máy-pʉga 'uwas]; 'ʉvʉs, 'ʉ́ʉʉ…
say-REM 3s/s end INTJ…
(one of the daughters); well, ʉ́ʉʉ….

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura 'umʉs navi-wʉra-qha-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura
there-at-it-TOP-be 3s/s REC-ready-PL-REM 3s/s-be
So then they all got ready; and all the while Sinawav

'u-vwaa-s 'uni-'ni-vachi̲-'uru, káaya-na-kwa-pʉ-av; kh-'ura pina-khwa̲
there-at-C do-INT-BG-that stash-LOC-go-NOM-OWN then-be follow-go
was hanging out, around his food stash; then finally he

sʉti'i̲-pachi̲ 'uwas 'uru "sh-sh-sh" máy-chi̲-'uru 'ivichi 'uru;
understand-BG 3s/s that/O sh-sh-sh say-NOM/REL-that stick/O that/O
understood that the one making the "sh-sh-sh" noise was that stick;

'úniguni 'u-vwaa-tʉ si̲chi-kya-vachi̲, 'úniguni 'ivichi̲ 'áy-vachi̲ 'úru̲.
sudden there-at-DIR peek-ANT-BKGR sudden stick/s say-BG that/s
he peeked out suddenly and lo, it was that stick.

pina-khwa̲-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru… 'umʉs 'áy-kya-pʉga:
follow-go-TOP-be-that 3s/s-that/O they/s say-PL-REM
So finally he… they said:

“ˈuvwiya-rawi̱ pərə-khwa-vaa-[chi-mʉ̱]” máy-kya-pʉga,
HORT-1p/IN go/PL-go-IRR-NOM-PL say-PL-REM
“Let’s go” they said,

“miya-khwa-u-paa-s-ˈura”; ˈúnigni-ˈura mámʉ̱ ˈura-pʉga…
far-go-INC-IRR-C-be sudden-be 3p/s be-REM
“let’s go far away”; and indeed it was them…

səniaa-u ˈura-pʉga mámʉ̱; ˈú-vwaa-tʉ-ˈura tugu-tukhwa̱
PLeiades -PL be-REM 3p/s there-at-DIR-be up-go
they became the Pleiades (Seven Sisters) constellation; they went up

ˈuni-wẖ-pʉay-agha ˈú-vway-aqh.
do/go-??-REM-CL there-at-it
right there right then.

ˈuwas-ˈura-ˈuru pina-kwa̱ ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-pʉga, pichʉ-khwa-pʉga;
3s/s-be-that follow-go there-at-go-REM arrive-go-REM
So finally Sinawav turned to go home, and he arrived there;

kh-ˈura ˈáy-vachi̱: “tava-yáakwi̱-khu̱-ˈuru… tava-yáakwi̱-khu̱-ˈuru…
then-be say-BG sun-sink-SUB-that sun-sink-SUB-that
then (his wife) said: “When the sun sets… when the sun sets…

ˈumʉs-ˈuru…” pi-via-amʉ̱ máy-vachi̱, “yagha-vərə-vaa-tʉ̱”
3s/s-that RED-mother-3s say-BG cry-go-IRR-NOM
they…” their mother said, “you will wander about howling”

máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu, “tava-yáakwi̱-khu̱, yagha-vərə-vaa-tʉ̱”
say-REM-CL-3s sun-sink-SUB cry-go-IRR-NOM
she told him, “when the sun sets, you’ll wander about howling”

máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu, “tava-yáakwi̱-ku̱, sinaavi-paa-tʉ̱ máy-kya-paa-pʉ̱”
say-REM-CONC-3s sun-sink-SUB wolf-DIR-NOM say-PL-IRR-NOM
she told him, “when the sun sets, like the wolf, that’s what they’ll call you”

máy-vachi̱-ˈura, “tava-yáakwì-ku̱ yagha-vərə-vaa-tʉ̱” máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈura.
say-BG-be sub-sink-SUB cry-go-IRR-NOM say-REM-CL-be
she said, “when the sun sets you’ll wander about howling” she said.

“mʉni-gya-sʉ-ni səniaa-u-vwaa-tʉ̱” ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwas ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈu,
2p-TOP-C-like Pleiades-PL-IRR-NOM say-REM 3s/s there-at-it-3s
“And you will become the Seven Sisters cluster” she told her daughters right then,

“'tava-yáakwi̲-khu̲ 'a-vaa-tʉ tʉvwa pʊrʊ-vaa-tʉ-mʉ-s tʉvwa-s”;
sun-sink-SUB there-at-DIR down go/PL-IRR-NOM-PL-C down-C
when the sun sets, you will go down there too, down there”;

nana-whchuwa-qa-pʉgay-'u Sinawavi 'uway.
REC-argue-ANT-REM-3s Sinawav/O the/O
she sure told Sinawav off.

> pina-rugwa-na̲ 'ura-pʉga, 'ú-vway máy-pʉga, máy-kya-pi-pʉ-av;
> follow-night-LOC be-REM there-at say-REM say-ANT-NOM-NOM-OWN
> And indeed it was the following night, he was out there howling away,
> the way she said;

'umʉsʉ-gaa-ni sʊniaa-u pa̲-pa'a-yugwi-'a-pʉga-sʉ-ni; 'umʉs-'ura
3p-TOP-like Pleiades-PL RED-complete-sit/PL-??-REM-C-like 3p/s-be
and the Seven Sisters were sitting up there too; it was

'ura-'ay Sinawavi nʊʊghwa-pʉ, 'ʉmu̲ sʊniaa-u 'ú-vwa
be-IMM Sinawav/O bear-NOM 3p/s Pleiades-PL there-LOC
them that she bore Sinawav, those Seven Sisters always

yugwi-'a-mi-tʉ-mu̲, súu-pa mani-'a-mi-tʉ-mu̲; máy-kya-nʉ-s
sit/PL-??-HAB-NOM-PL one-DIR do.like-??-HAB-NOM-PL say-ANT-1S-C
sitting up there, bunched together like this; I have spoken;

'ura-sapa̲; 'ʉvʉs.
be-MOD end
this is the end’.

TEXT 6

How Sinawav named the trees and bushes

told by: Bertha B. Groves
date recorded: 9-29-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Bertha B. Groves

wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga, Sinawavi̲ 'u 'ura-pʉga, Sinawavi̲ 'u 'ura-qa,
past be-REM Sinqawav/s the/s be-REM Sinwav/s the/s be-ANT
It was long ago, there was Sinawav, it was Sinawav,

pó⊖-pa paghay-kwa-pʉga; kh-'ura púucha̲'achi̲ 'ura-pʉga-s;
road-DIR walk-go-REM then-be mouse/s be-REM
he was walking along the road; and then there was Mouse;

si̲cha'wa-miya-kway, kwasi-a-'u pʘvi'wi-kwa-mi, manu-khu̲-tʉ
trick-HAB-MOD tail-G-3s pull-go-HAB all-O-DIR
he used to play tricks on Sinawav, he would pull his tail like

mani-miya-s qha̲qharʉ-mi kh-'ura 'uni-gyay-[ku̲];
do.like-HAB-C run-HAB then-be do-PAR-it
this and then run away doing it;

'uwas-'ura ka-pʉka-manay-pʘrʘ-'wa-tʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲,
3s/-be NEG-very-move-go-NEG-NOM be-REM-BG
now Sinawav was not a very fast runner,

ka-túusapa-mani-na-pʉa-vachi̲, ka-qomo'na-pʉa-vachi̲.
NEG-hurry-do.like-HAB-REM/NEG-BG NEG-turn.fast-REM/NEG-BG
he didn't move in a hurry, he didn't turn around very fast.

pina-kwa̲-'ura 'uwas tʉvʉchi̲ na'ay'a̲-pʉga, na'ay'a̲-kʉ-'u
follow-go-be 3s/s very angry-REM angry-BEN-3s
So finally Sinawav got real mad, mad at him for

'uni-pʉga-vachi-[na̲]; 'ú-vway-aqh na'ay'a̲-qhay-ku̲… sicha'wa̲-pʉga-vachi̲-'u
do-REM-BG-REL there-at-it angry-ANT-SUB trick-REM-BKGR-3s
what he did; so then when he got mad… Mouse had tricked him again

kh-'ura qha̲qhaɾu̲-pʉga, páaqhachi-naagha̲ yʉga-khwa̲-pʉga;
then-be run-REM hole/O-in enter-go-REM
and then ran away, jumping into a hole;

páaqhachi-naagha̲-'uru yʉga-khwa̲-pʉgay-ku̲ 'uwas, 'úuu… 'iya-kwa-pʉga
hole/O-in-thart/O enter-go-REM-SUB 3s/S INTJ here-go-REM
now when he jumped into that hole –úʉʉ… he went

tíi páaqhachi-naagha̲.
high hole-in
high up inside the hole.

'uwas-'ura 'áy-pʉga: "'ipʉ-sapa̲-'uru 'ura-gupʉ̲ pa'a-toghwa-tʉ̲ kh-'ura
3s/s-be say-REM WH-MOD-that be-SUBJ very-long-NOM then-be
So Sinawav said: "What possibly could be long enough so that

nʉ́' 'u-ma 'uni-ku̲ chʉ̲kur'a-gʉpʉ̲… piyʊghwa-ku̲ pana-khwa…?"
1s/s there-LOC do-it poke-SUBJ pull-it back-go
I could poke it in there… and pull it back out…?"

manu-khu̲-tʉ̲-aa-s 'uni-pʉga, 'ivichi kʉʉ-pʉga, chʉ̲kur'a-pʉga, 'úu-pa-tʉ
all-O-NOM-O-C do-REM stick/O take-REM poke-REM there-DIR-DIR
So he tried everything, he picked up a stick and poked it way up there,

tíi, kachu-'u sa̲pigya-pʉa, púucha̲'achi̲ 'u kiya-kʉ̲-kwa-pʉgay-'u
high NEG-3s can-REM/NEG mouse/S the/S laugh-BEN-go-REM-3s
but he couldn't (get him), Mouse would just keep laughing at him

'ina-khwa-pa tíi, 'ini-a ['uni-]pʉgay-'u-kway: "'avatʉ-mʉ̲" si̲cha'wa-qa-'u,
here-go-DIR high WH-O do-REM-3s-MOD big-AN/S tease-ANT-3s
from high up there, at whatever he tried to do: "Big one" he teased him,

'uwas-'uru náaa… "'avatʉ wa'a-qa-tʉ̲" máy-na-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas-'ura
3s/s-that/O naaa big/O prick-have-NOM/S say-HAB-REM-3s 3s/s-be
"the one with big penis" he would call him; he was really

'ú-ra-kʉ, 'áy-na-pʉga-vachi̲, 'íi-pa-kwa-s-'ura… 'uru[s] 'ura-qa…
that-be-EM say-HAB-REM-BG here-DIR-go-C-be that/S be-ANT
like that, he used to call him that, it was like this (gesture)… that thing was…

'ura-tʉ̲-'uru 'uni-aagha-y wíitʉ̲s-'uru, pa'a-toghwa-pʉga-vaachi̲ 'urusʉ-ga,
be-NOM-that POSS-have-IMM past-that/O very-long-REM-BG that/S-TOP
that he had it was, long ago, that thing was very long,

'íi-pa kh-'ura 'uwas wachʉ-vʊrʊ-na-pʉga-vachi̲ 'avatʉ-kway 'ina-pa'agha̲;
here-DIR then-be 3s/s put-go-HAB-REM-BG big/O-MOD here-over
he used to throw that big thing (gesture) over (his shoulder);

'ú-ra-kʉ̲-'u, sicha'wa̲-qa-na-pʉga-vachi̲-'u.
that-be-EM-3s tease-PL-HAB-REM-BG-3s
like that, they used to tease him (about it).

kh-'ura 'uwas pina-khwa-s na'ay'a̲-pʉga 'uwas: "'icha-saa-'ura?"
then-be 3s/s follow-go-C angry-REM 3s/s this/O-TOP/Q-be
So finally Sinawav got real mad: "How about this one?"

'áy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; mani-khwa-pʉgay-ku pana-khwa̲-'ura, 'u-maa-m
say-REM-be 3s/s do.like-go-REM-it back-go-be there-LOC-INST
he said; he pulled it (his penis) back down like this (gesture),

chʉ̲kur'a-khwa-pʉgay-ku; 'uwas-'ura mana-khwa-pa púucha̲'achi̲ 'u
poke-go-REM-it 3s/s-be back-go-DIR mouse/s the/s
and poked it in there (in the hole); now Mouse way back in there,

'agha-ni-pʉga-kway, tʉ́ʉ-kwi̲pa-pʉga-s-ukh,
WH-do-REM-MOD well-hit-REM-C-it
whatever he did exactly, he gave it a hard pull,

'ʉ́ʉ-'atʉ-pa'a-toghwa-tʉ tʉgay-pʉga.
real-well-very-long-NOM/O become-REM
so it became even longer.

pina-khwa̲ 'uwas 'áy-pʉga… na'ay'a̲-pʉga 'uwasʉ-ga 'ú-vway-aqh,
follow-go 3s/s say-REM angry-REM 3s/s-TOP there-at-it
So then Sinawav said… he got mad then,

pi̲-piyoghwa-pʉgay-kʉ̲, pi̲-pìyoghwa-y náaa… pa'a-toghwa-tʉ
RED-pull-REM-SUB RED-pull-IMM INTJ very-long-NOM/O
when Mouse kept pulling it, kept pulling náaa… it became

tʉgay-kwa̲-pʉga… "nʉ́-'ura 'agha-ni-aqh 'iya-vərə-vaa-ni?" 'áy-pʉga;
become-go-REM 1s/s-be WH-do-it here-go-IRR-FUT say-REM
very long… "How am I going to carry it around like this?" Sinawav said;

'ú-vwa karʉ-pʉga.
there-at sit-REM
and he sat there (thinking).

pina-khwa̲ 'ay-pʉga, wiichi-[m]av mani-kyarʉ-pʉga: "ka-'ay-wa
follow-go say-REM knife/O-with OWN do.like-sit-REM NEG-good-NEG
Finally he said, sitting there doing like this with his knife: "This thing isn't

marʉsʉ-ga, si̲cha'wa-qa-miya-n, tʉ́sapa-n si̲cha'wa-na-pʉga; marʉs
that-TOP tease-PL-HAB-1s always-1s tease-HAB-REM that/s
any good, they always tease me, they keep teasing me; now if this

míipʉchi-gyay-[vaa-kʉ], toghoy-gupʉ 'ura-'ay"; kuvua-y-aqh
small-be-IRR-SUB good-SUBJ be-IMM tip-O-its
thing were smaller, it would be much better"; so he

mani-khwa-pʉga, tʉravi-pʉga: "'ícha-'ara yʉvʉpʉ máy-kya-paa-pʉ"
do.like-go-REM throw-REM this/S-be pine say-PL-IRR-NOM
did like this (cut) its tip and threw it off: "This one they'll call 'pine'"

máy-pʉga; tʉravi-kyay-kʉ yʉvʉpʉ nana-kwa-pʉga; pina-khwa-'ura
say-REM; throw-ANT-SUB pine/S grow-go-REM follow-go-be
he said; and as he threw it away a pine grew (there); so he kept cutting it

chikavi'na-pʉga-s-ukh: "'ícha-'ara sʉ́avi máy-kya-paa-pʉ… 'icha-sa…
cut-REM-C-it this-be aspen say-PL-NOM this-TOP
(and throwing, saying): "this one they'll call 'aspen'… and this one…

'íni-kway… pawapʉ máy-kya-paa-pʉ…" chʉkʉr'a-kway-gyay-ku,
WH-MOD cedar say-PL-IRR-NOM cut-go-PAR-it
whatever… they'll call 'cedar'…" and cutting it off,

chʉkʉr'a-kwa-paghay-pʉgay-ku, tʉ́ʉ-tapi-paghay-pʉgay-ku,
cut-go-walk-REM-it well-throw-go-REM-it
he kept cutting it, he kept throwing the pieces off,

manu-khʉ-tʉ-aa-s 'áy-pʉga: "'ícha-'ara kwiyavi máy-kya-paa-pʉ,
all-O-NOM-O-C say-REM this-be oak say-PL-IRR-NOM
all the while saying: "This one they'll call 'oak',

'icha-sa 'ú-ra-tʉ-aa-ni, 'icha-sa 'ú-ra-tʉ-aa-ni" máy-kʉ-'u;
this-TOP that-be-NOM-O-like this-TOP that-be-NOM-O-like say-SUB-3s
and this one like that, this one like that" as he named (them all);

'urusʉ-ga 'úu-pa 'ura-navichi-pʉga, na-nana-pʉga 'urusʉ-ga,
that/S-TOP there-DIR be-MASS-REM RED-grow-REM that/S-TOP
and that thing (his penis) thereby became (shorter), and those pieces

míipʉchi tʉgay-kwa-pʉga 'urusʉ-ga.
small become-go-REM that/S-TOP
grew up, and that thing (his penis) became smaller.

'u-vwaa-s karʉ-pʉga 'uwasʉ-ga 'ú-vway-aqh, 'ú-'uni-aqh-'ura
there-at-C sit-REM 3s/S-TOP there-at-it RED-do-it-be
So Sinawav sat there like that, he kept doing this, naming them

níaa-ri-pʉga-aqh-'uru; 'ú-'u̲way-'uru wa'a-qa-pʉ̲
name-do-REM-it-that RED-3s/O -that penis-have-NOM
(trees and bushes); it was that way that his penis

'ura-pʉga-vachi̲ marʉsʉ-ga.
be-REM-BKGR that/S-TOP
became all those things (trees and bushes).

TEXT 7

Sinawav the copycat

told by: Harry Richards
date recorded: 9-1-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas 'íni̲-kway… Sinawavi̲ 'ura-pʉga… Sinawavi̲ págha̲-kwa-pʉga,
3s/s WH-MOD Sinawav/s be-REM Sinawav/s go-go-REM
What's-his-name… it was Sinawav… Sinawav took off,

'úu-pa-pʉga… 'úu-pa-pʉga, Sinawavi̲… 'i-vee-ni pʉni-'wa̲-khu̲-'uru
there-DIR-REM there-go-REM Sinawav/s here-at-like look-??-SUB-that/O
he went that-a-way… he took off that-a-way, Sinawav… and right there as he

karʉ-pʉga kúchu̲, kúchu̲ 'u, máy-na̲-av kúchu̲, 'u-vwaa karʉ-pʉga,
sit-REM buffalo/s buffalo/s the/s say-REL-OWN buffalo there-at sit-REM
was looking a buffalo was sitting, the buffalo, the one they call 'buffalo', sitting

qoy'okwa̲chi-naagha̲ karʉ-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs, 'uwa-vaa-chugwa 'uwas; ['uwas-'ura]
hollow-in sit-REM end 3s/O-at-go 3s/s 3s/s-be
there, sitting in a hollow; well, so Sinawav went toward him; and Buffalo was

pʌ́ka-sʊ'a-kʉʉ-pʉga, máy-pʉga: "Woof, woof!" máy-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura
hard-breathe-take-REM say-REM woof woof say-REM 3s/O-be
breathing hard, saying: "Woof, woof!" so Sinawav

pʉni… 'uwa-va wʉnʉ-pʉga, pʉni-wʉnʉ-pʉga 'uwa-vaa-chʉ; máy-pʉga
look 3s/O-at stand-REM look-stand-REM 3s/O-LOC-DIR say-REM
look… he stood next to Buffalo, stood looking at him; and Buffalo

'uwas: "Whoof!" máy-pʉga.
3s/s whoof say-REM
said: "Whoof!" he said.

kh-'ura 'áy-pʉga: "Táa, wágha̲!" 'áy-pʉga, "máy-miya-sapa-nʉ-kʉ"
then-be say-REM HORT enter/IMP say-REM say-HAB-MOD-1s-EM
Then Buffalo said: "Go ahead come in" he said, "I always make this noise"

máy-pʉga-'ura, "'uway súu-kʉ 'ini-a-sapa pʉ́-paa chugwa-khʉ,
say-REM-be 3s/O one-O WH-O-MOD REL-DIR come-SUB
he said, "to someone, whoever it be, when they come over,

máy-miya-sapa, narivʉ-n-aqh-'uru" máy-pʉga; "táa wágha!" máy-pʉga.
say-HAB-MOD habit-1s-it-that say-REM HORT enter/IMP say-REM
I make this noise, it is my habit" he said; "do come in" he said.

'uwas[-'ura] 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga; "karʉ, ma-vaa" máy-pʉga ['uwas];
3s/s-be 3s/O-at-go-REM sit/IMP there-at say-REM 3s/s
So Sinawav went toward him; "Sit down, over there" said Buffalo;

'u-vwaa karʉ-pʉga 'uwas; kh-'ura wíi-tavachi-yukhwi manay-'ni-kwa-pʉga;
there-at sit-REM 3s/s then-be old-sun-sit stir-INT-go-REM
so Sinawav sat down; then after a long time Buffalo stirred suddenly;

kh-'ura-s 'i-vee-chi yaghaa-va-tʉ-av, tʉpʉychi kʉʉ-pʉga, 'i-vee-tʉ
then-be-C here-at-NOM side-at-DIR-OWN rock/O take-REM here-sat-NOM
then right there at his side, he picked up a rock, right there

pa'a-toghwa-tʉ tʉpʉychi, maghachi níaa-gha-tʉ; 'ú-ra-tʉ
long-right-NOM/O rock/O pestle name-have-NOM that-be-DIR/O
an elongated rock, pestle they call it; one just like that he picked up

kʉʉ-pʉga, táa-y-av ta-tavi-u-pʉga, tʉpʉychi-m 'uru ta-tavi-u-pʉga.
take-REM knee-O-OWN RED-hit-INC-REM rock/O-INST the/O RED-hit-INC-REM
and started hitting his knee, he kept hitting (his knee) with the roack.

'ipʉ-sapa 'ura-vachi, qoy'okwachi 'ura-vachi 'ú-naagha-tukhwa
WH-MOD be-BKGR hollow be-BKGR there-in-go
Whatever it was, it was a hollow, in there

'u-vwaa-tukhwa, 'i-vee-aqh-'uru wachʉ-ka-y, táa-mana-khwa-'uru
there-at-go here-at-it-that put-PASS-IMM knee-leave-go-that
over there, it was right there, from his knee it

'ʘa-khwa-pʉga, tʉkuavi, tʉkuavi, whcho-khwa-pʉ máy-na-ukh núuchi
pour-go-REM meat-S meat-S pound-PASS-NOM say-REL-it Ute/O
poured out, meat, meat, they call it pounded (meat) like that in Ute;

'u-ra-tʉ; kuwi-kya-pʉgay-kʉ, 'uwa-rugwa-pʉgay-ku, magha-pʉgay-'u:
that-be-NOM fill-ANT-REM-it 3s/O-give-REM-it feed-REM-3s
and he filled (a bowl) with it, and he gave it to Sinawav, he fed him:

"tʉka-aqh" máy-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas-'ura tʉka-pʉga.
eat/IMP-it say-REM-3s 3s-s-be eat-REM
"Eat it" he told him; and Sinawav ate.

wíi-tavachi-khu̲ karʉ-ga-s, pághą̲-kwa-pʉga; yʉʉ-pa:
old-sun-SUB sit-PAR-C go-go-REM door-DIR
So sitting for a long time, Sinawav took off; at the door (he said):

“pághą̲-nu̲kwi-chaa-n” máy-pʉga; [ˈuwas-ˈura] ˈʉʉ-khwa-pʉga-s,
go-run-INC-1s say-REM 3s/s-be yes-go-REM-C
“I’m taking off” he said; and Buffalo said yes,

ˈʉʉ-khwa-pʉga; ˈʉvʉs ˈura-pʉga.
yes-go-REM ennd be-REM
he said yes; and that was that.

ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura ˈuwas ˈu… ˈíni̲-kway… ˈʊa-ghwa-ˈayʊvi̲,
there-at-it-be 3s/s the/s WH-MOD yellow-have-dove
So then he… what’s-his-name… Yellow Crane,

ˈʊʊ-ghwa-ˈayʊvi̲ níaa-gha-tu̲, ˈíni̲-kway ˈura-mi, wichichi̲
bone-have-dove name-have-NOM WH-MOD be-HAB bird/s
his name is Yellow Crane, it is what’s-his-name, a water fowl, he

páa-vawi-tu̲, paˈa-tʉ kura-gha-tu̲, ˈuwa-ra̲-tʉ-mʉ-ni
water-come-NOM long-NOM/O neck-have-NOM 3s-be-NOM-AN-like
has a long neck, it was like

ˈura-pʉga…
be-REM
him…

ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura ˈuwas-ˈura pághą̲-kwa-pʉga, karʉ-ga-s
there-at-it-be 3s/s-be go-go-REM sit-PAR-C
So Sinawav took off, having sat there he

pághą̲-kwa-pʉga… kh-ˈura ˈáy-pʉga: “Súu, kani-vaghay-kwa-nʉ,
go-go-REM then-be say-REM HORT house/O-walk-go-IMP
took off… and he said: “Do come to visit me,

máa-pa nʉ́-vwaa-chukhwą̲ ˈáa-vaya-vaa-chugwa-av, kani-vaghay-kwa-nʉ”
there-DIR 1s-at-go new-side-at-go-OWN house/O-walk-go-IMP
over there, come over to visit your new neighbor, come visit”

máy-pʉga; “ˈʉʉ” ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwas; ˈʉvʉs, pághą̲-kwa-pʉga;
say-REM yes say-REM 3s-s end go-go-REM
he said; “Alright” said Buffalo; well then, Sinawav left;

ˈʉvʉs ˈura-pʉga.
end be-REM
well that was that.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura páa-va-'uru, páa-va-'uru… sʉʉvʉpʉ
there-at-it-be water-at-that water-at-that cottonwood/s
So then at the water, at the water… there were cottonwoods

wʉnʉ-vachi, 'ipʉ-sapa 'u-ra-tʉ-ni, máa-khwa-'uru… wʉnʉ-vachi
stand-BG WH-MOD there-be-NOM-like there-go-that stand-BG
standing there, whatever they were like, right there… standing tall,

pa'a-tʉ, wʉnʉ-vachi; 'ú-vwa kani-chʉ-pʉga, 'ivichi-m túusapa
tall-NOM stand-BG there-at house-build-REM stick/O-INST hurry
standing; Sinawav built a house there, from sticks he built

kani-chʉ-pʉga, 'ini-pʉga, pa'a-mani-pʉgay-ku, 'uwas 'ú-naagha
house-build-REM do-REM complete-do.like-REM-it 3s/s there-in
a house in a hurry, he did, he did it just like this (gesture), then he

karʉ-pʉga… karʉ-pʉga…
sit-REM sit-REM
sat in there… sat there…

pina-khwa-s 'uwas 'u kúchu 'u karʉ-ga-s-'uru:
follow-go-C 3s/s the/s buffalo/s the/s sit-PAR-C-that
Later on as Buffalo sitting (at home, said):

"'agha-ni-vaa-chi-'u-kway 'áy-vʉ?" máy-pʉgaa-ni, "'agha-ni-vaa-chi-'u
WH-do-IRR-NOM-3s-MOD say-NOM say-REM-like WH-do-IRR-NOM-3s
"I wonder what he is up to?" he thought sitting there, "I wonder what he's

máy-vʉ" máy-pʉgaa-ni; págha-kwa-pʉga… tʉvwa-tukhwa páa-pa;
say-NOM say-REM-like go-go-REM down-go water-DIR
up to" he thought; so he took off… down to the water;

'únigunu-'ura 'i-vee-ni kani-gya-pʉga wʉga-ma, sʉʉvʉpʉ
sudden-be here-at-like house/O-have-REM hill-LOC cottonwood/O
and lo right there Sinawav had his house on the hillside, among the

wʉnʉ-rʉ-ma, 'u-vwa ['uwas] karʉ-pʉga, 'ʉvʉs.
stand-ADJ-LOC there-at 3s-S sit-REM end
standing cottonwoods, and he was sitting there.

'uwas-'ura wʉnʉ… tʉrʉsi-kwa-pʉga pʉni-wʉnʉ-pʉga 'uwa-vaa-chʉ
3s/S-be stand pause-go-REM look-stand-REM 3s/O-at-DIR
So Buffalo stopped… he paused, standing and looking at Sinawav

karʉ-ga 'uwas; wíi-tava̲ karʉ-ga-s, manay-'ni-kwa-pʉga karʉ-ga-s 'uwas:
sit-PAR 3s-s old-sun sit-PAR-C move-INT-go-REM sit-PAR-C 3s/s
sitting there; sitting for a long time, Sinawav started moving, sitting there:

"Whoof" máy-pʉga, mani-pʉga whsiaa-y-av, "Whoof" máy-pʉga
whoof say-REM do.like-REM feather-O-OWN whoof say-REM
"Whoof" he said, doing like this (gesture) with his feathers, "Whoof" he said

mani-gya, "táa tʉna-khwa̲!" máy-pʉga, "máy-miya-sapa-nʉ-kʉ,
do.like-PAR HORT climb-go/IMP say-REM say-HAB-MOD-1s-EM
doing like this, "do come up!" he said, "I always make this noise,

'ini-a-sapa̲ 'uway pʉ-paa chugwa-kha̲, narivʉ-n-ukh-'uru"
WH-O-MOD 3s/GEN REL-LOC go-SUB habit-1s-it-that
whenever anybody comes over, it is my habit"

máy-pʉga, 'ʉvʉs; "'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲ 'áy-vʉ?" máy-pʉgaa[-ni]
say-REM end WH-do-IRR-NOM say-NOM say-REM-like
he said, well; "What is he up to?" Buffalo wondered,

'ú kúcha̲, "'agha-pa-'ura ma-na-tarukhwa̲?" "máa-pa tʉna-khwa̲!"
that/s buffalo/s WH-DIR-be there-LOC-climb there-DIR approach-go/IMP
"and how would I climb up (across) there?" "Come up here!"

máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, "mana-kwa-s pө́ө-agha máa-pa" máy-pʉga,
say-REM-be 3s/s leave-go-C path-have there-DIR say-REM
said Sinawav, there's a path on the other side that-a-way" he said,

'ini-kya… 'ivi-mani-kya-pʉga, nawa-s 'ini-kya-pʉga, nawa-s…
do-ANT stick-do.like-ANT-REM together do-ANT-REM together-C
he did… he had built it like this of sticks, putting them together, together…

'ʉvʉ-'ini-kya-tʉ̲, qoy'okwa̲-ca̲'a-ti-kya-pʉga, 'u-na-tukhwa̲.
bad-do-PASS-NOM hollow-catch-CAUS-PASS-REM there-LOC-go
it was badly made, it was hollowed, that way

['ʉvʉs, 'uwas-'ura] tarukhwa̲-pʉga 'uwas… 'ivichi 'u-vwa
end 3s/s-be climb-REM 3s/s stick/O there-at
So Buffalo went up there… to the (house)

'uni-kya-pʉga… "máa-va karʉ" máy-pʉga; 'uwas karʉ-khwa-pʉga;
do-ANT-REM there-at sit/IMP say-REM 3s/s sit-go-REM
made of sticks… "Sit right there" Sinawav told him; so Buffalo sat down;

ˈuwas ˈuwa-vaa-chʉ pʉni-kyarʉ-pʉga; “ˈagha-ni-vaa-chi̲-ˈu
3s/s 3s/o-at-dir look-sit-rem wh-do-irr-nom-3s
Sinawav was sitting there watching him; “What is he up to?”

ˈáy-vʉ?” máy-pʉgaa-ni karʉ-ga, “ˈagha-ni-vaa-ni-aa?” máy-pʉgaa-ni;
say-nom say-rem-like sit-par wh-do-irr-fut-q say-rem-like
Buffalo thought sitting there, “what’s he going to do?” he thought;

ˈuwas manay-ˈni-pʉga, ˈuru tʉpʉychi kʉʉ-pʉga, táa-y-av
3s/s move-int-rem that/o rock/o take-rem knee-o-own
then Sinawav stirred, he picked up that rock, and he started hitting

ta̲-tavi-u-pʉga…
red-hit-inc-rem
it on his knee…

ˈuwas[-ˈura] pʉni-kyarʉ-pʉga ˈuwa-vaa-chʉ; ˈʉvʉs, tʉkuavi̲ ˈúru̲
3s/s-be watch-sit-rem 3s/o-at-dir end meat/s the/s
And Buffalo was sitting and watching Sinawav; well, the whole mass of

páapʉ-maku wiˈi-navichi̲-kwa-pʉga ˈaghochi-naagha̲-tukhwa̲ ˈuru,
blood-with fall-mass-go-rem dish/o-in-go the/o
bloody meat fell into the bowl,

kukwi-kwa̲-pʉga; “ˈíii” máy-pʉga, ˈuwa-rugwa-pʉgay-ku̲; “kách”
fill-go-rem intj say-rem 3s/o-give-rem-it no
and it filled up; “íii” said Sinawav, and he gave it to him. “No”

máy-pʉga ˈuwas, “nʉ-kʉ-ˈara tʉka-kha-y ˈuni-ˈwa-y, pʘni-kya-n”
say-rem 3s/s 1s-s-em-be eat-ant-imm do-??-imm full-ant-1s
said Buffalo, “I have already eaten, I am full”

ˈáy-pʉga, “tʉka-y nʉ-kʉ ˈáavu̲”; ˈʉvʉs; “ˈú-vway” ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwas,
say-rem eat-imm 1s-s-em now end there-at say-rem 3s-s
he said, “I have eaten just now”; well; “Alright” said Sinawav,

“ˈáa-vaya-n” ˈáy-pʉga.
new-side-1s say-rem
“my new neighbor” he said.

ˈʉvʉs, wíi-tava̲ karʉ-ga, págha̲-kwa-pʉga, pagha̲-kwa-pʉga,
end old-sun sit-par go-go-rem go-go-rem
Well, sitting there for a long time, Buffalo finally took off, took off,

ka-tʉka-pʉa; ˈuru ˈuwas-ˈuru páapʉ-ˈini-kya-tʉ… páapʉ-m
neg-eat-rem/neg that/o 3s/s-that blood/o-do-ant-rel/o blood/o-winst
having eaten nothing; Sinawav had made that (mess) with blood… it was

'ura-'ay, tʉkuavi 'úru, [púupa] 'uway máy-pʉa[-na] 'uway,
be-IMM meat/s the/s way 3s/O say-REM 3s/G
with blood, the meat, the way Buffalo had told him,

kúchu 'u máy-pʉa, 'uni-'wa-pʉga… 'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga,
buffalo/s the/s say-REM do-??-REM end be-REM
Buffalo did, he did… and so it ended,

'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa kh-'ura-yi-s.
there-at-go-MOD then-be-IMM-C
that's as far as it goes.

TEXT 8

Sinawav the copycat

told by: Mollie B. Cloud[1]
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Neil Cloud
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

…"ʼíi-pa nú-kʉ karʉ-ga" máy-kya-ʼuru ʼú kúchu̲, "táa,
here-DIR 1s/S-EMPH sit-PAR say-ANT-that/O that/s buffalo/s HORT
…"here I am, sitting" said Buffalo, "go ahead,

wágha̲, kachʉ ʼiyavagha" máy-pʉgay-ʼu ʼuway Sinawavi; kh-ʼura-ʼuru
enter/IMP NEG fear/IMP sat-REM-3s 3s/O Sinawav/s then-be-that
come in, don't be afraid" he told Sinawav; so Sinawav

ʼuwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga ʼiya-m-sapa̲, ʼuwa-vaa[-chʉ]
3s/O-at-go-REM fear-INST-MOD 3s/O-at-DIR
approached him, fearfully, and

karʉ-khwa̲-pʉga; kh-ʼura ʼuwas ʼu, kúchu̲ ʼu, kʉʉ-pʉga…
sit-go-REM then-be 3s/s the/s buffalo/s the/s take-REM
sat down facing him; then he, Buffalo, took…

ʼivichi kuvua-ri̲-kya-tʉ… kh-ʼura mʊvʊtʼʊpʉ-tʉ-av
stick/O point-make-PASS-NOM/O then-be nose/O-DIR-OWN
a sharpened stick… and poked it repeatedly

chi̲-chikurʼa-pʉga; kh-ʼura mʊvʊtʼʊpʉ-a-ʼu tavi-navichi̲-kwa̲-pʉga,
RED-poke-REM then-be nose/O-G-3s hit-MASS-go-REM
into his nose; he hit his nose with it repeatedly,

ʼuru… ʼipʉ-kway ku̲cho-ghwa-pu̲… tʉkuavi̲… kh-ʼura
that/O WH-MOD pound-PASS-NOM meat then-be
and that… wha-cha-ma-call-it pounded… meat (came out)… which he then

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1. The beginning of the story is missing here, but can be recovered from Harry Richard's version (7). Mollie Cloud's version is much more expanded.

sinawavi-khu̲-'uru maga-puay-aghay-'u.
Sinawav/O-it-that/O feed-REM-CL-3s
fed to Sinawav;

'uwas tʉka-pʉgay-ku sinawavi̲; tʉka-maku-chi̲-'ura, 'áy-pʉga…
3s/S eat-REM-it Sinawav/S eat-finish-SUB-be say-REM
So Sinawav ate it; and having finished eating, he said…

karʉ-ka-pʉga 'uwa-vaa-cawi-chukhwa̲… ka-pa'a-toghwa-'aa-pʉ̲…
sit-ANT-REM 3s/O-at-come-go NEG-very-long-have/NEG-NOM
he had been sitting there facing Buffalo… not very far…

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru karʉ-ga-s-'uru Sinawavi̲ 'áy-pʉga: "máa-pa-kwa-n-'uru
then-be-3s/S-that sit-PAR-C-that Sinawav/S say-REM there-DIR-go-1s-that
then sitting there Sinawav said: "You come visit

'atachin-n nʉ́-vwaa-chukhwa̲ kani-vaghay-kwa-nʉ"
kinsman-1s 1s/O-at-go house-walk-go-IMP
my house that-a-way, my kinsman"

máy-pʉga-s-'uru 'uway kuchu.
say-REM-C-that 3s/O Buffalo/O
he told Buffalo.

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ kwáa-pʉga-s pina-kwa̲-'uru;
3s/S-be-that/O 3s/O-at-go run-REM-C follow-go-that/O
So then later on Buffalo hurried over to visit Sinawav;

'i-vaa-ni karʉ-pʉga-s-'u, sinawavi̲, kuchu-gwa-y, kuchu
here-at-like sit-REM-C-3s Sinawav/S buffalo-be-IMM buffalo/O
and right there Sinawav was sitting, being (like) Buffalo,

tʉga-khwa̲-qa-y; máy-pʉga 'uway kuchu púupa máy-pʉ̲-'uru
become-go-ANT-IMM say-REM 3s/O Buffalo/G way say-NOM/-that
he had become Buffalo; and he said the way Buffalo did that

'úu-pa: "wh-wh-wh" máy-pʉga, 'uwas, kuchu-gwa-y, qha̲qha-ti-pʉga,
there-DIR wh-wh-wh say-REM 3s/S Buffalo/O-be-IMM crouch-CAUS-REM
way: "Wh-wh-wh" he said, being (like) Buffalo, crouching,

púupa 'uni-kya-na̲ 'uwayas, kuchu; pina-khwa̲-'ura: "máy-miya-sapa̲
way do-ANT-REL 3s/G Buffalo/G follow-go-be say-HAB-MOD
the way he had done, Buffalo; finally he (said): "I always

nʉ́-kʉ" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas, navutigi-gya 'apagha̲-pʉga;
1s-EMPH say-REM-C 3s/S imitate-PAR speak-REM
make this sound" he said, imitating Buffalo;

máy-mi-khu̲-'ura-'u Sinawavi̲ 'u.
say-HAB-it-be-3s Sinawav/s the/s
he always speaks like that, Sinswav.

'uwa-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru… máy-pʉga… 'uwa-va̲ karʉ-khwa̲-pʉga…
3s/s-be-that 3s/s-that say-REM 3s/o-at sit-go-REM
So Sinawav said… he seated himself next to Buffalo…

'uwas Sinawavi̲… 'uwas 'u Sinawavi̲ 'u… mʊvʊt'ʊpʉ-tʉ-av
3s/s Sinawav/s 3s/s the/s Sinawav/s the/s nose/O-DIR-OWN
Sinawav did… and he, Sinawav… started picking his nose

chi̲-chikur'a-pʉga-s, 'úu-pa-tʉ tavi-navichi̲-kwa-pʉga
RED-pick-REM-C there-DIR-DIR drop-MASS-go-REM
(with a stick), and right there a mass of clotted blood

kʉchakhwa̲sipʉ… páa-'ini-kya-pʉ… 'iya-pʉ-ni…
blood.clot blood-make-ANT-NOM ugly-NOM-like
dropped out… bloody… ugly…

kʉchakhwa̲si-'ini-kya-pʉ… 'úru̲-'ura 'uru kuchu magha-pʉay-aghay-'u;
blood.CLOT-make-PASS-NOM that/s-be that/O buffalo/O feed-REM-CL-3s
clotted blood… that's what he offered Buffalo to eat;

'uwas kh-'ura 'áy-kh̲: "tʉka-qhay-in nʉ́-kʉ 'uni-'wa-y"; kachu-'u-kway
3s/s then-be say-IMM eat-ANT-1s 1s-EM do-??-IMM NEG-1s-MOD
but Buffalo (refused) saying: "I have already eaten"; he didn't eat any,

tʉka-wa, nanʊs-'u-khu̲ tʉka-y-ukh, Sinawavi̲-'uru kuchu-gwa-y…
eat-NEG alone-3s-it eat-IMM-it Sinawav/s-that buffalo-be-IMM
so Sinawav ate it all himself, Sinawav being (like) Buffalo…

'uni-kya-na̲-av, 'uru navutigi-kya-na̲-av; kách-kway
do-ANT-REL-OWN that/O imitate-ANT-REL-OWN NEG-MOD
(he ate) what he had made, what he imitated (Buffalo); people don't

tʉka-qha-ta-mi-wa 'uwa-vaa-chʉ[-mana-kwa-y]; 'ʉvʉs 'ura-'ay,
eat-PL-PASS-HAB-NEG 1s/O-at-DIR-from-go-O end be-IMM
eat stuff coming from Sinawav; so that was it,

payu-khwa-yi-s 'ú kúchu̲.
return-go-IMM-C that/s buffalo/s
Buffalo then went back home.

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru pina-khwa̲ 'ura-pʉga-s, 'uwas 'u Sinawavi̲…
then-be 1s/s-that follow-go be-REM-C 3s/s the/s Sinawav/s
So later on Sinawav, it was later, and Sinawav…

pina-khwa̲ 'ura-yi-s kh-'ura-'uru sənʉ-gani-chʉ-pʉga… 'ini-a-kway…
follow-go be-IMM-C then-be-that cedar.bark-house-build-REM WH-O-MOD
later on that he built himself a cedar-bark house… that kind…

'aka-qonavi kani-vaa-chugwa-pʉga-s; 'u-vwaa kh-'ura sənʉ-gani…
red-flicker/G house/O-at-go-REM-C there-at then-be cedar.bark-house/O
then he went to (visit) Red Flicker's house; and right there cedar-bark house…

'aka-qonaavi̲… sənʉ-gani-gya-pʉga; marʉ-'ura-'uru mani-khu̲-'uru,
red-flicker/S cedar.bark-house-have-REM that/O-be-that do.like-SUB-that
Red Flicker… had a cedar-bark house; and whenever he would do like this

pana-ta-na-pʉga, pana-ti-kyay-ku̲ máy-kh̲ 'ura-pʉga.
shine-PASS-HAB-REM shine-CAUS-ANT-it say-IMM be-REM
(wing gesture), it would all light up, it would light up like that.

pina-khwa̲-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'u sinawavi̲ 'uwa-vaa-chawi-chʉ
follow-go-be-that 3S/S the/S sinawav/S 3S/O-at-go-DIR
So later on Sinawav was sitting facing him

karʉ-pʉga 'uni-kwa-ukh-'uru, pana-ta-ku̲ máy-kh̲ kani-'u… 'uway
sit-REM do-go-SUB-that shine-PASS-SUB say-IMM house-3S that/G
when Red Flicker was doing that, when his whole house lit up…

'aka-qonavi kani̲… kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chawi-chʉ karʉ-ga-s
red-flicker/G house then-be-that 3S/S-that 3S/O-LOC-come-DIR sit-PAR-C
Red Flicker's house… so then sitting there facing Red Flicker,

'ú Sinawavi̲; kh-'ura máy-pʉga-s: "'atachi-n, kani-vaghay-kwa-n-'uru"
that/S Sinawav/S then-be say-REM-C kinsman-1S house-walk-go/IMP-1S-that
Sinawav said: "My kinsman, come visit me"

máy-pʉay-aghay-'u 'aka-qonavi.
say-REM-CL-1S red-flicker/O
he told Red Flicker.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas 'uni-'a-pʉga-s, kani-vaghay-kwa-pʉga-s;
there-at-it-be 3S/S do-??-REM-C house-walk-go-REM-C
So Red Flicker did just that, he went visiting him;

kh-'ura 'i-vee-ni-'u karʉ-pʉga-s 'ú Sinawavi̲, 'aka-qonavi
then-be here-at-like-3S sit-REM-C that/S sinawav/S red-flicker/O
and there was Sinawav sitting, having become (like) Red Flicker,

tʉga-wi-kya-y, kani-'u pana-pʉga… sənʉ-kani-'u…
become-??-ANT-IMM house-3S light-REM cedar.bark-house-3S
his house all lit up… his cedar-bark house…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura naguch'ay-kwa̲, sɵni-kani-gyay-na̲-'u, 'uway
there-at-it-be burn-go cedar.bark-house-have-REL-3s 3s/G
and then it burned down, the cedar-bark house he had,

Sinawavi; naguch'ay-kwa̲, 'ʉvʉs 'ura-'ay, pa'a-naguch'ay-kwa̲-pʉga;
sinawav/G burn-go, end be-IMM complete-burn-go-REM
Sinawav's (house); it burned down, that was it, burned down;

kách-kway 'úu-pa 'ura-wa, ka-'aka-qonavi kani-pani
NEG-MOD there-DIR be-NEG NEG-red-flicker-cedar.bark/G house/O-like
it was not like that, it was not like Red-Flicker's cedar-bark house,

'ura-wa, navutigi-kya-na̲-'u; 'ú-'u̲ni-miya-'ura-'u Sinawavi̲.
be-NEG imitate-ANT-REL-3s RED-do-HAB-be-3s Sinawav/s
the one Sinawav imitated; Sinawav always does it this way.

pina-khwa̲ 'ura-pʉga-s kʉmayas kani-vaa-tukhwa̲… tʉiyʉ
follow-go be-REM-C other/G house/O-at-go deer/G
So later on Sinawav went to someone else's house… to

kani-vaa-tukhwa̲… tʉiyʉ kani-vaa-tukwa̲ kani-vaghay-kwa-pʉga; 'i-vee
house-at-go deer/G house-at-go house-walk-go-REM here-at
Deer's house… he went visiting Deer's house; and there

'íni̲-kway wʉnʉ̲-i, tʉiyʉ̲, tua-pʉchi-gya-y wáy-kunani; kh-'ura
WH-MOD stand-IMM deer/s child-DIM-have-IMM two-O then-be
what's-his-name was standing, Deer, he had two children; and

tʉiyʉ̲ 'u 'úu-gwa-pʉga, 'áachi-gya-pʉga-s; 'uwas 'u Sinawavi̲
deer/s the/s arrow-have-REM bow-have-REM-C 3s/s the/s Sinawav/s
Deer had an arrow, and he had a bow too; so Sinawav

'uwa-vaa-chugwa-qha, kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'úu-av 'uru tʉ'ma-pʉga-s,
3s/O-at-go-ANT then-be-that/O 3s/s arrow/OWN the/O pick-REM-C
approached him, and then Deer picked up his arrow,

kutupʉ-tʉ-av 'uru kwípa̲-pʉga; tugu-tugwa-khu̲ kwáa-ti-chi̲,
butt/O-DIR-OWN that/O hit-REM up-go-it run-CAUS-SUB
and shot it at his butt; having made it go up there,

'u-rukwa̲ pichʉ̲-'a-kwa-pʉga, togho-kutupʉ-tʉ-av-'u kwípa̲-pʉga 'uru-s;
there-go come-??-go-REM right-butt/O-DIR-OWN-3s hit-REM that/O-C
(the arrow) came up there, he shot it straight up his own butt;

kh-'ura 'u-vwaa-tʉ piyoghwa-pʉga-s… 'úniguni kwicha-'napʉ-'u
then-be there-at-DIR pull-REM-C sudden feces-INST-3s
then he pulled it out… and lo, there was his colon!

'ura-pʉga! kh-'ura 'uwas Sinawavi kh-'ura 'uway 'uwa-rugwa-pʉga,
be-REM then-be 3s/s Sinawav/O then-be the/O 3s/O-give-REM
Then he gave it to Sinawav,

magha-pʉay-aghay-'u, tʉka-pʉga-s-ukh 'uwas.
feed-REM-CL-3s eat-REM-C-it 3s/s
he fed it to him, and Sinawav ate it.

pina-khwa̲-'uru 'ura-pʉga-s, tʉka-maku-pʉgay-ku̲,
follow-go-that/O be-REM-C eat-finish-REM-SUB
So later on, after he finished eating,

pagha-nu̲kwi-pʉga-s 'ú Sinawavi̲, kh-'ura 'áy-pʉga: "'atachi-n,
go-run-REM-C that/s Sinawav/S then-be say-REM kinsman-1s
Sinawav took off, though not before telling Deer: "My kinsman,

kani-vaghay-kwa-n-'uru" máy-pʉga-s; kani-vaghay-kwa-pʉga-s, 'uwas
house-walk-go/IMP-1s-that say-REM-C house-walk-go-REM-C 3s/s
come visit me" he said; so (later on) what's-his-name,

'íni̲-kway tʉiyʉ̲ 'u; 'i-vee-ni wʉnʉ̲-pʉga-s 'uwas, tʉiyʉ-ga-y,
WH-MOD deer/s the/s here-at-like stand-REM-S 3s/s deer-be-IMM
Deer went to visit him; and there was Sinawav standing, being (like) Deer,

wáy-ku tuachi-gya-pʉga-s, tʉiyʉ-rʉga-kha̲-pʉga.
two-O child-have-REM-C deer-become-ANT-REM
with (his) two children, he had become (just like) Deer.

pina-khwa̲ 'úu-gwa-pʉga, tʉiyʉ púupa 'ura-qa-na̲ 'ura-pʉga;
follow-go arrow-have-REM deer/G way be-ANT-REL be-REM
So later he took an arrow, just the way Deer had done; and he acted

'uni-pʉga-s, 'uni púupa-'u kutupʉ-tʉ-av ku̲-kukwi-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-tʉ
do-REM-C do way-3s butt/O-DIR-OWN RED-shoot-REM there-at-DIR
the same way, the same way shooting (the arrow) up his own butt, then

piyoghwa-pʉga-s, kwicha-'ini-kya-pʉ, kwicha-'napʉ-av tʉiyʉ-yáakwi̲
pull-REM-C feces-make-PASS-NOM/O shit-INSTR/O-OWN deer/O-sink
he pulled it out, his feces, offering his own colon to Deer

magha-pʉay-agha; kach-ukh tʉka-pʉa-s 'uwas: "tʉka-yi-n nʉ́-kʉ"
feed-REM-CL NEG-it eat-REM/NEG-C 3s/s eat-IMM-3s 1s-EMPH
to eat; but Deer didn't eat it: "I have already eaten"

máy-pʉga-s… wáy-ku-kway tuachi-gya-s, púupa-'uru 'ura-pʉ, 'uway
say-REM-C two-O-MOD child-have-C way-that be-NOM 3s/G
he said… Sinawav also had (his) two children with him, the way

tʉiyʉ 'ura-pʉgay-kṳ, navutigi-kyay-kṳ-'ura 'uwas, navutigi-na-pʉga
deer/G be-REM-SUB imitate-ANT-SUB-be 3s/S imitate-HAB-REM
it was, when Deer did (it), when he was imitating him, Sinawav

'uwas Sinawavi̱.
3s/s Sinawav/s
used to imitate.

kh-'ura-'uru 'ʉvʉsa̱-pʉga-s 'úru, pághạ̱-kwa-pʉga, súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni
then-be-that end-REM-C that/S go-go-REM other-NOM-AN-O-like
Then it was all done, he took off, Sinawav went to someone else's

kani-vaa-tugwa 'uni-'a̱-pʉga-s, 'ini-a-kway, wichi-gíigichi
house-at-go do-??-REM-S WH-O-MOD pinyon.jay/G
house, whoever it was, he went to Pinyon Jay's

kani-vaa-tugwa-pʉga-s; 'i-vee-ni karʉ-pʉga-s, wichi-gíigichi̱,
house/O-at-go-REM-C there-at-do sit-REM-C pinyon-jay/s
house; and there he was sitting, Pinyon Jay,

magha-pʉay-agha-s-'u, táa-y-av tavi-pʉga-s 'ú wichi-gíigichi̱,
feed-REM-CL-C-3s knee-O-OWN hit-REM-C that/s pinyon-jay/s
and he fed Sinawav, Pinyon Jay struck his own knee,

tʉvʉachi̱ 'ʘa-khwa-pʉga 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̱, 'ú-ra-'u
pinyon.nut/s pour-go-REM there-at-go that-be-3s
and pinyon nuts poured out of there, and that's

magha-pʉay-aghay-'u, 'uway sinawavi; tʉka-pʉga-s-ukh,
feed-REM-CL-3s 3s/O sinawav/O eat-REM-C-it
what he fed him, Sinawav; so Sinawav ate it,

tʉka-maku-pʉgay-khṳ, pina-khwa̱ pághạ̱-kwa-pʉga-s, payu-kwa-pʉga-s
eat-finish-REM-SUB follow-go go-go-REM-C return-go-REM-C
and when he finished eating, afterwards he took off, he went

'ú Sinawavi̱.
that/s Sinawav/s
back home.[2]

kh-'ura pina-khwa̱-'uru 'ura-pʉga, kʉmayas
the-be follow-go-that be-REM different/O
Then, it was later on, Sinawav went to

2. The second half of the Pinyon Jay episode is missing here.

kani-vaa-tugwa-kwa-pʉga-s, pawichi kani-vaa-tukhwa̲… pá-gúaa-va
house-at-go-go-REM-C beaver/G house/O-at-go water-edge-at
someone else's house, to Beaver's house… Beaver had a house

kani-gya-pʉga-s, tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga-s, 'ú pawichi̲, tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga,
house-have-REM-C child-PL-have-REM-C that/s beaver/s child-PL-have-REM
at the edge of the water, he had his children there, that Beaver,

kwavi-vʊrʊ-pʉga, páa-gharʉ-ti-kya-tʉ kúaa-va; 'ú-naagha̲
lie/PL-go-REM water-sit-CAUS-PASS-NOM/O edge-at there-in
he had his children there, swimming, at the edge of the pond;

kwavi-vʊrʊ-pʉga tuachi-u-'u; 'ú pawichi̲ pa̲-pa'ay-pʉga-amʉ, 'umʉ
lie/PL-go-REM child-PL-3s that/s beaver/s RED-call-REM-3p 3p/O
his children were swimming in there; so Beaver called them over,

tuachi-u-av, 'uway Sinawavi pʉ́-pa chugwa-qhay-ku̲;
child-PL-OWN 3s/G Sinawav/G REL-DIR go-ANT-SUB
his children, when Sinawav came over;

'u-vwaa-tugwa-amʉ 'umʉ tuachi-u-av chʉ̲-chʉkʉr'a-pʉga-s,
there-at-go-3s those/O child-PL-OWN RED-cut-REM-C
then right there he chopped up his own children

sa'a-khwa̲-pʉay-agay-amʉ; kh-'ura 'uway Sinawavi-aqh-amʉ
boil-go-REM-CL-3p then-be that/O Sinawav/O-it-3p
and boiled them; the he fed them to Sinawav,

magha-pʉga-amʉ̲, tuachi-u-av 'umʉ… kh-'ura 'uwas: "tʉkapi
feed-REM-3p child-PL-OWN the/O then-be 3s/s food/O
his own children… then he said: "Pick your food

'átʉ-sugwi-nʉ̲-aqh-'ura!" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u-'ura, "'ʊʊ-ay-amʉ̲
well-pick.clean-IMP-it-be say-REM-CL-3s-be bone-O-3s
clean!" he told him, "the bones

marʉ" máy-pʉga.
the/O say-REM
too" he said.

'uwas-ukh 'úu-pa 'uni-pʉga, 'átʉ-tʉka-pʉga, 'ʊʊ-a-s-amʉ
3s/s-it that-DIR do-REM well-eat-REM bone-G-C-3s
So Sinawav did just that, he ate it all up, only their bones

piyaa-khwa̲-pʉga; 'uwas 'u tʉ'uma̲-pʉga-s, 'uru pá-vawi-tukhwa̲
remain-go-REM 3s/s the/s pick.up-REM-C that/O water-descend-go
remained; then Beaver picked up the bones and dumped them in the water;

chạ-caa'mị-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-s-'uru kwavi-vʊrʊ-khwạ-pʉga-s, tuachi-u-'u,
RED-dump-REM there-at-C-that lie/PL-walk-go-REM-C child-PL-3s
and right there they started swimming, his children,

'uway Sinawavi kacha'na-qha-nạ.
that/G Sinawav/G chew-ANT-REL
the ones that Sinawav had eaten up.

pina-khwạ-'ura 'uwas 'áy-pʉga: "payu-kwa-uchaa-ni-gya" máy-pʉga-s;
follow-go-be 3s/S say-REM return-go-INC-do-PAR say-REM-C
So later Sinawav said: "I'm going back" he said;

'úrụ-'ura payu-khwa-qhay-kụ, pawichi-gani-av chʉʉ-pʉga-s, Sinawavị
that/S-be return-go-ANT-SUB beaver-house/O-OWN build-REM-C Sinawav/S
that's when he went home and built himself a beaver-lodge, Sinawav

'u, púupa… 'uway pawichi púupa 'ura-qa-nạ 'uni-pʉga-s, tuachi-u
the/S way that/G beaver/G way be-ANT-REL do-REM-C child-PL
did, the way… he made it just the way Beaver had done, he made

chʉʉ-pʉga-s; kh-'ura 'ú pawichị 'u kani-vaghay-kwa-pʉga-s
build-REM-C then-be that/S beaver/S the/S house-walk-go-REM-C
children too; then Beaver came over to visit

'uwa-vaa-chukhwạ; 'i-vee-ni-kway karʉ-yi-s pawichi-gya-y,
3s/O-at-go here-at-do-MOD sit-IMM-C beaver-be-IMM
him; and there was Sinawav sitting, being (like) Beaver,

tuachi-u-gwa-y, kani-ta-qha-pʉga-s, pá-gúaa-va,
child-PL-have-IMM house-PASS-ANT-REM-C water-edge-at
he had his children, he had his house, at the edge of the water,

páa-gharʉ-ti-kya-tʉ 'ú-gúaa-va… 'ʊ́ʊʊ…
water-sit-CAUS-PASS-NOM/O there-edge-at INTJ
at the edge of the pond… 'ʊ́ʊʊ…

pawichi pʉ́-pa chugwa-khwạ-khụ-'u, tuachi-u-av 'umʉ
beaver/G REL-DIR go-go-SUB-3s child-PL-OWN the/O
So when Beaver came over to (visit) him, Sinawav

pa-pa'ay-pachi-s, 'uni púupa 'uway pawichi 'uni-kya-nạ; kura-y-amʉ
call-BG-C do/IMM way 3s/G beaver/G do-ANT-REL throat-O-3s
called his children over, acting the way Beaver had done;

chʉ-chʉkʉr'a-vachi-s, kh-'ura magha-vachi-sʉ-kʉ-amʉ, pawichi-yáakwi
RED-cut-BG-C then-be feed-BKGR-C-EMPH-3s beaver/O-sink
he cut their throats, and offered them, offered them to

magha-vachi; kách 'uwas tʉka-na-wa-tu: “nú-kʉ tʉka-y”
feed-BG NEG 3s/s eat-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM 1s-EM eat-IMM
Beaver; but Beaver didn’t eat (them): “I have already eaten”

máy-pʉga-s, kach-ukh tʉka-pʉa-s.
say-REM-C NEG-it eat-REM/NEG-C
he said, he wouldn’t eat any.

'uwa-tʉ-s-ukh nanʊs tʉka-pʉga, 'uwas Sinawavi, 'u-vwaa-tukhwa
3s-DIR-C-it alone eat-REM 3s/s Sinawav/s there-at-go
So then Sinwav ate it all himself in front of Beaver, and he pitched

'uru 'ʊʊ-a-vi cha-cha'mi-pʉga-s-kway… 'u-vwaa 'umʉs
that/O bone-G-O RED-throw-REM-C-MOD there-at 3p/s
the bones away there (into the water)… and they started

kwavi-vʊrʊ-pʉga-s, súu-yis ka-'ipʉ-'a-pʉa, 'umʉ-aa-tʉ…
lie/PL-go-REM-C one-s NEG-WH-have/NEG-REM/NEG 3p-PART-NOM
swimming right there, but one went missing, one of them…

'ú-vway yagha-vʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga 'uwas, kachu-'u 'ipʉ-'ay-ku…
there-at cry-go-go-REM 3s/s NEG-3s WH-have/NEG-SUB
So Sinawav burst out crying, when (he saw) that the one was missing…

'ú-'uni-mi-kway Sinawavi 'u, pagha-'ni-khu-'uru,
RED-do-HAB-MOD Sinawav/s the/s go-INT-SUB-that
Sinawav always does that, when he wanders about,

súuva-tʉ-mʉ-kway navutigi-mi… nʉka-qhay-ku-n 'uway-'a 'uni-kh…
other-NOM-PL/O-MOD imitate-HAB hear-ANT-it-1s 3s/G-3s do-IMM
he imitates others… I have heard it that he does…

'áavʉ-'ura 'úru 'ura-'ay 'úru…
now-be that/s be-IMM that/s
that’s the way it is now…

TEXT 9

How Sinawav got his yellow eyes

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 9-3-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Neil Cloud, Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas-kway 'íni̲-kway 'ura-pʉga, Sinawavi̲ 'u; 'úu-pa-pʉga,
3s/s-MOD WH/S-MOD be-REM Sinwav/s the/s there-DIR-REM
There was what's-his-name, Sinawav; he was going that-a-way,

'i-vee-ni kh-'ura, qovaa-na-'u-'ura… qovaa-vay-'u pʉ'i-av-kway
there-at-like then-be face-LOC-3s-be face-at-3s eye-OWN-MOD
and lo there, right in front of him… in front of him they

tʉ̲-tʉra̲pi-kya-pʉga, píischi-u, wa'apʉ wʉni-rʉ-ma-tukhwa̲; 'uwas-'ura
RED-throw-PL-REM children-PL cedar/O stand-ADJ/O-LOC-go 3s/s-be
were throwing their eyes, children, into a clump of standing cedars;

'umʉ-vaa-chugwa-pʉga, kh-'ura 'áy-pʉga: "'agha-ni-gya mani-kya-y,
3p/s-at-go-REM then-be say-REM WH-do-PAR do.like-PL-IMM
so he went toward them and said: "Why are you doing this,

'atachi-u-n?" máy-pʉga, "nʉ́-aa ka-mʉni-wa kiya-gu[pʉ]-waa-tʉ̲?"
kinsman-PL-1s say-REM 1s-Q NEG-2p/O-with play-SUBJ-NEG-NOM
my kinsmen?" he said, "can't I play with you too?"

máy-pʉga, 'uwas-kway; kh-'ura-s: "'ʉvʉsa-gha" 'áy-kya-pʉga.
say-REM 3s/s-MOD then-be-C end-PAR say-PL-REM
he said; so they said: "Sure".

kh-'ura 'uwas pʉ'i-av tu̲-túpʉna-pʉga, 'u-ma-tugwa-aqh tʉravi̲-pʉga,
then-be 3s/s eye-OWN RED-pluck-REM there-LOC-go-it throw-REM
So Sinwav plucked out his own eyes and threw them up there, then

'ú-rukwa̲ múkwi̲-pʉga, 'úu-pa-tʉ̲-aa-s tavi-pʉga, sukwa-naagha̲-tʉ;
there-under stick.head-REM there-DIR-NOM-O-C step-REM socket-in-DIR
stuck his head underneath, and they dropped right back into their sockets;

kh-'ura 'uni-'wa-pʉga-s, kh-'ura 'umʉ-a-tʉ̲ sʊtʊ'na-pachi̲-'u:
then-be do-??-REM-C then-be 3p/O-PART-NOM/S wish-BG-3s
so he did it again, but one of them wished him ill: "Let them

"kachi-s-aqh kwáa-nʉ, ma-vaa kwáa-nʉ, pacha'a-gupʉ̲
NEG-C-it run-IMP there-at run-IMP stick-SUBJ
not fall back (into the sockets), let them go over there, let them get stuck

wa'apʉ-ma̲" máy-pʉga[ni]; 'urus-'ura 'uni-'wa̲-pʉga, pacha'a-pʉga; 'ú-vway
cedar-LOC say-REM-like that/s-be do-??-REM stick-REM there-at
in the cedar" he thought; and that's what happened, they got stuck (up there);

'uwas pʉ'i-av… pa̲-paaqha-pʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga… pʉ'i-av ma'ay-ti-chi̲…
3s/s eye-OWN RED-scream-go-go-REM eye-OWN lost-CAUS-NOM
so Sinawav (lost) his eyes… he ran around screaming… having lost his eyes…

nana-na-kwa-ti-s 'uwas kh-'ura 'uni-[kya]-pʉga, ma-vaa kh-'ura
REC-LOC-go-CAUS-S 3s/s then-be do-ANT-REM there-at then-be
he had done it to both eyes, both of them

nawa-s pacha'a-qha-pʉga.
both-C stick-PASS-REM
got stuck up there.

'umʉs-'ura mʊtʊni-vachi-mʉ̲, 'úmʉ̲ píischi-u, 'uni-kya-qhay-ku̲-amʉ̲
3p/s-be run/PL-BG-PL 3p/S children-PL do-PL-ANT-SUB-3p
Now they scattered, those children, having done that (to him);

'uru; kh-'ura 'uwas 'úu-pa 'uwa-vachi̲… 'ú sinawavi̲…
that/O then-be 3s/s there-DIR fall-BG that/s sinawav/s
and now Sinawav was staggering about there… that Sinawav…

núuchi-gya-y… 'úu-pa 'uwa-vachi̲-'ura; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura
person-be-IMM there-DIR fall-BG-be there-at-it-be
he was a human… staggering about there; and there was

tʉpʉy-paya-agha-tʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲, tʉpʉychi-aagha-tʉ̲ paya-agha-vachi̲,
rock-side-have-NOM be-BG rock-have-NOM side-have-BG
a rock cliff there, a rocky cliff,

[pʉ́-pa kh-'ura] wíi-kya-vachi-na̲, 'ú-'u̲ra-unuv-'ura 'u-na
REL-DIR then-be fall-ANT-BG-REL RED-be-TOP-be there-LOC
where he then fell, that's where

wi-wí'i̲-khwa-pʉga 'uwas, ka-maay-wa-'uru.
RED-fall-go-REM 3s/s NEG-see-NEG-that
he fell down, because he couldn't see.

kh-'ura pa'a-qovich'a-kwa-qha-pʉga, 'ichatwa-'u, manu-khu̲
then-be complete-break-go-ANT-REM organ-3s all-O
Now Sinawav was all broken up, his various parts, all his

'ʊʊ-aa-ghapʉ̲-'u; 'u-vwaa-na̲-'ura 'avi-na-pʉga 'uwas kiya-'avi-tava-pʉ;
bone-G-DEFUN-3s there-at-LOC-be lie-HAB-REM 3s/s some-long-sun-NOM
useless bones; so he was lying there for a while;

kh-'ura wá-mamachi-u 'úmʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga, 'ini-u-sapa̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲,
then-be two-woman-PL the/S be-REM WH-PL-MOD be-REM-BG
then there were two women there, whoever they were,

'úmʉ̲-'ura 'úu-pa-amʉ̲ paghay'wa̲-pʉga-vachi̲; paghay'wa̲-ku̲-amʉ̲-'ura-'uru,
3p/s-be there-DIR-3p walk-REM-BG walk-SUB-3p-be-that
they were walking through there; well as they were walking there,

tʉpʉychi 'uru kanʉga-rukhwa̲ 'uni-'wa̲-pʉga-amʉ̲,
rock/O the/O foothill-go do-??-REM-3p
they were going along the rocky foothills,

paghay'wa̲-ku̲-amʉ̲-'ura-'uru… 'i-vaa-chi̲ piki-kwana-pʉga, wʉgaa-ma-tʉ̲,
walk-SUB-3p-be-that here-at-NOM rotten-smell-REM hill-LOC-NOM
as they were walking… right there there was a rotten smell, on the hillside,

ma-vaa-tʉ̲, 'agha-ra̲-tʉ̲-paa-tʉ̲-sapa̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲, piki-kwana-pʉga;
there-at-NOM WH-be-NOM-DIR-NOM-MOD be-IMM-BG rotten-smell-REM
right there, wherever it was, it smelled rotten;

'umʉs-'ura 'ugwi-'ni̲-pʉga-amʉ̲: "'agha-ni-vaa-tʉ̲ kwana-y?"
3s/s-be smell-INT-REM-3p WH-do-IRR-NOM smell-IMM
so they started sniffing: "Where could it be smelling?"

máy-pʉga-amʉ̲; sú-iini máa-pa-tʉ pʉni-'ni-pʉga: "'iya-na-'u 'avi!"
say-REM-3p one-s there-DIR-NOM see-INT-REM here-LOC-3s lie/IMM
they said; and one of them looked that-a-way: "Here he is lying!"

máy-pʉga, 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga-amʉ̲; 'úuuunigun̲i-'ura!
say-REM 3s/O-at-go-REM-3p surprise-be
she said, so they approached him; and lo!

'uwa-vaa-chugwa-amʉ̲, 'apagha̲-pʉga, 'apagha̲-pʉga 'uwas:
3s/O-at-go-3p speak-REM speak-REM 3s/s
they went to him, and he spoke (to them), he spoke:

"'i-vee-nʉ-s 'avi-mi" máy-pʉga, "nava-khwa-kway,
here-at-1s-C lie-HAB say-REM just-go-MOD
"Here I am lying" he said, "useless,

ka-pʉ'i-'a-y" máy-pʉga, "nʉ́nay pʉ'ivi ma'ay-kwa-pʉga-tʉ̲
NEG-eye-have/NEG-IMM say-REM 1S/G eye/O lost-go-REM-NOM
with no eyes" he said, "having lost my eyes"

'ura-'ay" máy-pʉga 'uwas; 'úniguni-kway-amʉ̲ pʉ'i-gyapʉ-náagha-y
be-IMM say-REM 3S/S sudden-MOD-3P eye-DEFUN-in-O
he said; and lo! in his ruined eyes there were

múupuvwi'aachi-u, ka-pa'ay-wa-s; "'úrʉ̲-'ura-'uru kwana-qha-vachi̲"
maggot-PL NEG-COUNT-NEG-C that/S-be-that smell-ANT-BG
maggots, countless ones; "That's what has been smelling (so bad)"

'áy-vachi̲, "múupuvwi'aachi-u!" máy-pʉga; "'ʉnʉnʉn…" máy-pʉga 'umʉs,
say-BG maggot-PL say-REM INTJ say-REM 3P/S
Sinawav said, "maggots!" he said; "'ʉnʉnʉn…" the two women said,

"'agha-ni-na-'ara?" máy-pʉga-amʉ̲; "qorʉc'ay-kʉ-kuca-nʉ-s" máy-pʉga
WH-do-HAB-be say-REM-3P break-BEN-INC-1S-C say-REM
"how come it is like that?" they asked; "I've been broken up" he told them;

'uwas; "'úniguni Sinawavi-gyapʉ" 'áy-vachi̲.
3S/S sudden Sinawav-DEFUN say-BG
"Oh poor broken Sinawav!" they said.

kh-'ura 'áy-vachi-mʉ̲: "'uvwiyaa-nʉmʉ̲ mu̲sutʉ̲kwi-gya-tʉ
then-be say-BG-PL HORT-1P/EX medicine-have-NOM/O
So then they said: "We had better call a doctor

pa̲-pa'a-kʉ-vaa-mʉ̲!" máy-vachi-mʉ̲; "mu̲sutʉ̲kwi-gya-tʉ̲ 'icha-rukhwa̲
RED-call-BEN-IRR-2S say-REM-PL medicine-has-NOM/S this/O-go
for you!" they said; "There's a doctor walking

'i-vee-ni-'uru pagha-'ni-vachi̲! 'agha-vaa-sapa̲-'u mu̲sutʉ̲kwi-gya-tʉ̲?"
here-at-like-that go-INT-BG WH-at-MOD-3S medicine-have-NOM
about this way! Where could the doctor be?"

máy-vachi-mʉ̲-'ura, "nʉ́mʉ̲-'ura pi̲-pichʉ-vaa-tʉ-mʉ-s"
say-BG-PL-be 2P/S-be RED-return-IRR-NOM-PL-C
they said; "we will come back presently"

máy-pʉga-amʉ-'ura; "'uvwiyaa-gha!" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas.
say-REM-3P-be HORT-PAR say-REM-be 3S/S
they told him; "Please!" Sinawav implored them.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'umʉs pagha-nu̲kwi-pʉga-amʉ̲, 'úu-pa-pʉga-amʉ̲
there-at-it-be 3P/S go-run-REM-3P there-DIR-REM-3P
So then the two women took off, they went that-a-way,

'umʉs, mu̲sutʉ̲kwi-[gya]-tʉ… doctor 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲-'u-'uru…
3p/s medicine-have-NOM/O doctor/s be-REM-BG-3s-that
(looking for) the doctor… it was a doctor…

maay-pʉgay-'u-amʉ̲, doctor-i 'uway; 'uwas kh-'ura 'íni̲-kway 'ura-vachi̲,
find-REM-3s-3p doctor-O the/O 3s/s then-be WH/S-MOD be-BG
and they found him, the doctor; and it was what's-his-name,

yʉʉpʉchi̲; 'ú-'uru 'ura-vachi̲, doctor-bag-i-av yáa'wa̲-vachi̲; 'umʉs
porcupine/s that/s-that be-BG doctor-bag-O-OWN carry-BG 3p/s
Porcupine; it was him, he was carrying his doctor-bag;

maay-vachi̲-'u, 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pachi-mʉ, kani-vaa-chugwa-av 'uwas
find-BG-3s 3s/O-at-go-BG-PL house/O-at-go-OWN 3s/s
they found him, they were approaching him, he was on his way home…

'uni-'a-vachi̲… pʉ́-pa-tukhwa̲ karʉ-mi-paa-tukhwa̲, bág-i-[av]
do/be-??-BG REL-DIR-go sit-HAB-DIR-go bag-GEN-OWN
to where he usually sits,

yáa'wa-rʉ-'u… [kh-'ura 'umʉs] máy-pʉga-amʉ: "ma-vaa-kʉ
carry-ADJ-3s then-be 3p/s say-REM-PL there-at-EM
carrying his bag… so they told him: "Over there

núuchi-gyapʉ 'avi, pʉ'i-naagha̲-'u 'ichay 'inih-kway
person-DEFUN/S lie/IMM eye-in-3s this/O WH/O-MOD
a poor man is lying, in his eyes are these what-cha-ma-call-em

múupuvwi'aachi-u" 'áy-vachi̲-'ura; "'aghaa-va?" 'áy-vachi̲-'ura 'uwas;
maggot-PL say-BG-be WH-at say-BG-be 3s/s
maggots" they said; "Where?" he asked them;

"'uwa-na 'úu-pa"; mʉi-kʉ-vachi̲-mʉ 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲;
3s/O-LOC there-DIR lead-BEN-BG-PL 3s/O-at-go
"Over there, that-a-way"; so they led him towards Sinawav;

'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ pʉrʉ-pʉga, 'i-vee-ni 'avi-pʉga 'uwas; 'uwas[-'ura]
3s/O-at-go walk/PL-REM here-at-like lie-REM 3s/s 3s/s-be
they all walked towards him, and right there he was lying; so

pʉni-'ni-pʉgay-'u: "'ʉnʉʉʉ…" máy-pʉga, "'agha-ni-aa-'ura kachi-n
look-INT-REM-3s INTJ say-REM WH-do-??-be NEG-1s
Porcupine inspected him: "Wow…" he said, "how come I can't

'u-vwa maay-wa-y? 'uni-kʉ[-vaa-chi̲-'u]" 'áy-pʉga.
there-at see-NEG-IMM do-BEN-IRR-NOM-3s say-REM
see in there? I must do something for him" he said.

kh-'ura 'umʉ-tʉ-s-'uru 'umʉ-'ura múupuvwi'aachi-u sichini̲-pʉga,
then-be 3p-PART-C-that 3p/O-be maggot-PL scoop.out-REM
So one of the women scooped the maggots

tʉ́ʉra-va-amʉ̲ ta̲chi.pʉka-pʉga, 'umʉs kh-'ura wáa-mamachi-u
out-at-3p turn.loose-REM 3p/s then-be two-woman-PL
out and turned them loose, then the two women

parʉkhi̲-pʉay-aghay-ku̲, 'átʉ-cleanupʉ-pʉay-aghay-ku̲; 'umʉ-'ura
wash-REM-CL-it well-clean.up-REM-CL-it 3p/O-be
cleaned it out (the eye-sockets), they cleaned it well; then

wáa-mamachi-u 'áy-pʉay-aghay-'u: "'úvway" máy-pʉay-aghay-amʉ̲,
two-woman-PL say-REM-CL-3s alright say-REM-CL-3p
Porcupine told the two women: "Alright" he told them,

"'i-vee-chi-mi̲-'uru[-aa] kách-'ura 'ɵaqarʉ tʉvʉpʉ 'ura-wa,
here-at-NOM-LOC-that-Q NEG-be yellow/O earth/O be-NEG
"Isn't there some yellow clay around here,

míichi̲ 'ɵa-siyaqarʉ-ni?" máy-pʉga-'ura; "'ú-ra-tʉ mʉ́ni̲-'uru
little yellow-pale-like say-REM-be that-be-NOM/O 2p/s-that
with a little pale-yellow?" he said; "Make me some

'uni-nʉ tʉvʉpʉ".
do-IMP earth/O
clay of that kind".

'umʉs-'ura 'uni-kwa̲-pʉga-sapa̲-amʉ̲, tʉvʉpʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga,
3p/s-be do-go-REM-MOD-3p earth/s be-REM
So the two women started making it, it was clay,

'óa-siyaqarʉ̲, 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ 'uni-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura
yellow-pale 3s/O-at-go do-REM 3s/s-be
palomino, and they brought it to Porcupine; and he

pá-vawi-tukhwa̲ 'uni-pʉga, máavurachi-pani-'ura pɵɵtʉ̲kwa-tʉ 'uni-pʉga,
water-come-go do-REM marble/O-like-be round-NOM/O do-REM
put it in water, he made marble-like balls out of it,

doctor 'u, pʉ'i-naagha̲-kwa-'u yuna-pʉga, maay-pʉga 'uwas;
doctor/s the/s eye-in-go-3s put-REM see-REM 3s/s
the doctor did, and he put them in Sinawav's eye-sockets, and now he could see.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'ɵɵ-a-'u 'ura-pʉga-vachi-s,
there-at-it-be-that bone-G-3s be-REM-BG-C
So now there remained his bones,

qorʉch'a-kwa-qha[-pʉga] 'agha-ni-gya-sapa-'u… yʉ'ua-'u… 'ú-'ura
break-go-ANT-REM WH-do-PAR-MOD-3s leg-3s there-be
they had been smashed whichever way… his legs… so

'uni-pʉga-s 'uwas, pʉ'i-'a namu 'uni-'nį-kʉ-pʉga; kh-'ura-'uru máy-pʉga-s
do-REM-C 3s/s eye-3s first do-INT-BEN-REM then-be-that say-REM-S
Porcupine fixed those, but first he fixed his eyes; then he said:

'uwas: "'úvway" máy-pʉga-s, "'i-vee-chaa-mʉ 'uru 'ipʉ-kway,
3s/s alright say-REM-C here-at-INC-2s that/O WH/O-MOD
"Alright" he said, "now that what-cha-ma-call-it here that

'uni-'wa-na-mʉ… kʉpʉ-'uru marʉ…" má-ra-tʉ-aa-ni-amʉ
do-??-REL-2s sunflower.seed/O-that that/O that-be-NOM-O-like-3p
I made… those sunflower seeds" so the two women brought him

'uni-pʉga-s, máy-na-'u-'uru; 'u-vwaa-s chʉkʉr'a-pʉga, 'úru-'ura 'uru
do-REM-C say-REL-3s-that there-LOC-C cut-REM that/s-be-that
those (like), what he told them; and right there he cut them up and

'ʊʊ-a-ghapʉ-'u yuna-pʉga-s, píigyachi-mi nari'a-paa-tukhwa, 'úru-'ura
bone-G-DEFUN-3s put-REM-C fiber-LOC middle-DIR-go that/s-be
put them on Sinawav's broken bones, he put the fiber into the core,

túua-'u 'ura-'ay, máy-kya-mi… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas-'uru
marrow-3s be-IMM say-PL-HAB there-at-it-be 3s/s-that
that's his bone-marrow, that's what they call it… then he put them all

'úu-pa-ukh yuna-pʉga-s-'uru, 'ʊʊ-a-ghapʉ-'u, nana-chugwi[-ti]-na…
there-DIR-it put-REM-C-that/O bone-G-DEFUN-3s REC-stick-CAUS-REL
together, Sinawav's broken bones, that he had glued together…

yʉchi-khwa-pʉga-s 'urus, ma-machugwa-pʉga-s-'u-'ura;
fly-go-REM-C that/s RED-squeeze-REM-S-3s-be
it all fell back together, he squeezed it together;

qorʉch'ay-kwa-kwa-tʉ cha-chawu'na-pʉga-s; toghoy-pʉga-s.
break-go-PASS-NOM/O RED-throw-REM-C well-REM-C
and he threw away the broken parts; and Sinawav was well.

['uwas-'ura-'uru] ma-mani-na 'avi-pʉga; "'áavʉ-s-'ura 'i-vee
3s/s-be-that RED-do.like-HAB lie-REM now-C-be there-at
So Sinawav was lying there like this (gesture); "Now you'll

'avi-vee-ni, nʉ́-'ara pʉ-pʉni-vee-tʉ-mʉ, súu-kus tumiiku-paa-tugwaa-ni"
lie-IRR-FUT, 1s-be RED-see-IRR-NOM-2s one-O Sunday-DIR-go-like
lie here, and I will drop by to check on you, about once a week"

'áy-pʉgay-'u-'ura, "'ú-vway-aqh-'ura nʉ́' 'ʉmʉy kʉrʉki-ti-paa-tʉ̲
say-REM-3s-be there-at-it-be 1s/s 2s/O rise-CAUS-IRR-NOM
Porcupine told him, "and then I will (come back and) get you up"

'ara-yi-s" máy-pʉga.
be-IMM-C say-REM
he told him.

'uwas 'u-vwaa-s 'avi-pʉga, 'átʉ-paa wa̲-wachʉ-ka-pʉga; 'umʉ-gaa-ni
3s/s there-at-C lie-REM good-DIR RED-put-ANT-REM 3p-TOP-like
So Sinawav was lying there, they had put him in a nice spot; the two

pʉ-pʉni-vee-tʉ̲-'u-amʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga-s, máy-pʉay-agha-sʉ̲-amʉ̲…
RED-see-IRR-NOM-3s-3p be-REM-C say-REM-CL-C-3p
women were going to drop by to check on him, Porcupine had told them to…

"nʉ́-gaa-ni" máy-pʉga-s-'u… doctor, yʉʉpʉchi̲-'uru 'ura-pʉga-'u…
I-TOP-like say-REM-C-3s doctor/s porcupine/s-that be-REM-3s
"Me too" he had told him… the doctor, it was Porcupine…

pʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga-'ura, toghoy-u-kʉ̲-'u; 'u-vwaa-s 'uwas 'avi-na-pʉga;
go/PL-go-REM-be well-INC-SUB-3s there-at-C 3s/s lie-HAB-REM
So they al took off, when Sinawav began to get well; and he was lying there;

pina-khwa̲ manay-'ni-pʉga; "manay-'ni̲-'ura, mani-'ni-nʉ" máy-kya-pʉga
follow-go move-INT-REM move-INT-be do.like-INT-IMP say-ANT-REM
later on he started stirring; "You stir, like this"

['uwas yʉʉpʉchi̲ 'u]; pina-khway 'áy-tʉgaay-pʉga; pina-khwa̲
3s/s porcupine/s the/s follow-go well-become-REM follow-go
Porcupine had told him; so later he got well; and later they

pʉnikya-miya-pʉga-s-'u, pina-ravay.
see-HAB-REM-C-3s follow-day
came to see him, the following day.

'u-vwaa 'uwas 'uni-'ni-pʉga, karʉ-pʉga, páy-chi-s
there-at 3s/s do-INT-REM sit-REM three-NOM-C
So he hung around there, sitting, for three

tugwa-ri-kwa̲-khwa-pʉga, 'avi-gya-'uru; 'i-vee-'ura-'uru 'uwas
night-make-go-ANT-REM lie-PAR-that here-at-be-that 3s/s
nights, lying there; it was then that he

manay-'ni-u-kwa-pʉga; pina-khwa̲ kʉrʉki̲-kwa-pʉga, 'u-vwaa
move-INT-INC-ANT–REM follow-go rise-go-REM there-at
started stirring; finally he got up and walked

pagha-pərə-pʉga; pʉ̲-pʉni̲kya-pʉay-'u-'ura, pʉ̲-pʉni̲kya-pʉay-'u,
go-go-REM RED-see-REM-3s-be RED-see-REM-3s
around there; they did check on him periodically, they did,

ma-magha-na-pʉga-s-'u; 'ʉvʉs.
RED-feed-HAB-REM-C-3s end
and they kept feeding him; well.

pina-khwa̲-'ura 'uwas toghoy-pʉgay-khu̲-'u, pághа̲-kwa-pʉga;
follow-go-be 3s/s well-REM-SUB-3s go-go-REM
Finally when Sinawav got well, he took off;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura marʉvi̲-kya-kha-pʉgay-'u Sinawavi 'uway;
there-at-it-be knead-PL-ANT-REM-3s Sinawav/O the/O
so they had put Sinawav back together;

togho-sapa̲-'ura-'uru sinaavi̲ 'ʊaqarʉ̲-aa-ni pʉ'i-gya-tʉ̲
right-MOD-be-that wolf/s yellow-O-like eye-have-NOM
that's why the wolf has yellow-like eyes;[1]

'ura-'ay; máa wolf pagha-'ni-chi̲ 'áavʉ; 'ú-'u̲way 'uni-pʉ-vway;
be-IMM that/s wolf/s go-INT-NOM now RED-3s/O do-NOM-LOC
that wolf is a wanderer nowadays; that's the way he (Porcupine)

máy-kya-miya núgway, pʉsariniya-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲; 'uru-sapa̲-'ura
say-PL-HAB TOP story.tell-PK-NOM-PL that/O-MOD-be
fixed him; they say so, the story-tellers; that's the way it is,

'ura-'ay, 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa̲.
be-IMM there-at-go-MOD
that's how it goes.

1. Mollie Cloud, either deliberately or inadvertently, mixes up here *Sinawavi̲* with the etymologically related *sinaavi̲ 'wolf'*. As noted earlier, such mixups are common. Thus in the So. Paiute creation story (3), *sinawavi̲*, the creator, is 'coyote' (Sapir 1930). Likewise, the *Uintah* counterpart of this story, (10) directly below, is told about *yoghovʉchi̲* 'coyote', not *Sinawavi̲* (Sapir 1930).

TEXT 10

Coyote deprives himself of his eyes

told by: Charlie Mack
date taken down: August-September 1909
taken by: Edward Sapir[1]
re-transcribed by: T. Givón[2]

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh yoghovʉchi̱ 'u-vwa pagha-'ni-pʉga;
3s/s there-at-it coyote/s there-at go-INT-REM
Coyote was wandering about out there; many other (creatures)

'ava'nu̱-tʉ-mu̱ miya-'ni-pʉga; nʉka-khay-ku, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
many-NOM-PL/S go/PL-INT-REM hear-ANT-SUB 3s/s there-at-it
were wandering too; having heard them, he then

'umʉ-vaa-chugwa-pʉga; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh wichichi-u pʉ'i-av
3p/O-at-go-REM 3p/s there-at-it bird-PL eye-OWN
went over toward them; (and saw) some birds as they were

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1. This version of the story was re-transcribed and re-analyzed from Sapir (1930, p. 488). It was collected in August-September 1909 in the Uintahs (No. Ute). The story corresponds loosely to "How Sinawav got his Yellow Eyes" (9), directly above. I am indebted to Douglas Remington for help with the re-analysis. The alternation between *Sinawavi̱* (So. Ute) and *yoghovʉchi̱* 'coyote' (Uintah) has been noted in (9), above.

2. In re-transcribing Sapir's 1909 over-phoneticized transcription of the Uintah dialect, we aimed to convert it to the Southern dialect (*Moghwachi̱, Kapuuta, 'aka-páa-gharʉ-rʉ, wíya-ma-núuchi̱*). This involved first removing the pre-consonantal nasals typical of the Uintah dialect. We also added morpheme cuts (word-internal hyphens) and the corresponding inter-lineal glosses absent from Sapir's transcription. Finally, we took the liberty to correct Sapir's morphological analysis. Having spent 6 weeks in the Uintahs working with a single young informant, it is hardly surprising that Sapir's understanding of both Ute phonology and Ute grammar was rather limited. His So. Paiute (Kaibab) materials, based on three months work with a single informant in 1910, are somewhat better.

cha-chawʉ'na-miya-pugay-ku kanavʉ 'u-ma-tukhwa; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh
RED-throw-go/PL-REM-SUB willow/O there-LOC-go 3p/s then-at-it
throwing their eyes into the willow bush; then when they

sʉnʉga-ti-kya-pʉgay-ku kanavʉ 'uru, 'uru-s 'ú-vway-aqh pʉ'i-amʉ-'uru
shake-CAUS-PL-REM-SUB willow/O the/O that-C there-at-it eye-their-that
would shake the willow-bush, right away their eyes

'u-vwa-tugwa-s tavi-navichi-unu-pʉga; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh yapa-y…
there-at-go-C drop-MASS-??-REM 3p/s there-at-it camass-O
would plop back (into the sockets); then they would stand

'avatʉ yapa-y tʉka-kha-wʉnʉ-pʉga;
big/O camass-O eat-PL-stand-REM
there eating big camass roots;[3]

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh: "táwi 'uni[kya]-vaa-[tʉ] chaqhachi-u-n"
he there-at-it 1p/IN/s do-PL-IRR-NOM yngr.bro-PL-1s
so Coyote (said): "Let us do it togther, my little brothers"

máy-pʉga; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh pʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga, 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh
say-REM 3p/s there-at-it go/PL-go-REM 3p/s there-at-it
he said; so they all went together, and they pitched

pʉ'i-av 'uru kanavʉ 'u-ma-tukhwa cha-chawʉ'na-kha-pʉga.
eye-OWN the/O willow/O there-LOC-go RED-throw-PL-REM
their eyes into the willow bush; willow bush.

'uwas[-'ura] yoghovʉchi 'u 'umʉ-wa 'uni-pʉga, kanavʉ 'uru
3s/s-be coyote/s the/s 3p/O-with do-REM willow/O the/O
So Coyote did it with them, and

sʉnʉga-ti-kya-gha wʉnʉ-pʉgay-ku, 'urus 'ú-vway-aqh 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s
shake-CAUS-PL-PAR stand-REM-SUB that/s there-at-it there-at-go-C
shaking the willow-bush when they were standing (under) the willow, those (eyes) would fall right back there

tavi-navichi-unu-pʉga; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh yapa-y tʉka-kha-wʉnʉ-pʉga.
drop-MASS-??-REM 3p/s then camass-O eat-PL-stand-REM
(into their sockets); then they would stand there and eat camass roots.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh yoghovʉchi 'u pʉ'i-av 'uru namu
3s/s there-at-it coyote/s the/s eye-OWN the/O first
Now Coyote was always the first to stand and throw his

3. An edible root bulb (*camasias quamash*).

tʉravi̱-wʉnʉ-pʉga, 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh: "kachu-'u ucha 'ay-wa"
throw-stand-REM 3p/s there-at-it NEG-he ?? good-NEG
eyes up, so they (said): "He is no good"

máy-kya-pʉga; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh ['uru ka-'ay-wa-tʉ]
say-PL-REM 3p/s there-at-it that/O NEG-good-NEG-NOM/O
they said; so they wished him (ill); then they

sʊtʊ'nay-kya-pʉgay-'u; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh pʉ'i-av cha-chawʉ'na-ka-pʉga,
wish-PL-REM-3s 3p/s there-at-it eye-OWN RED-throw-PL-REM
threw their eyes up there (again),

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh kanavʉ 'uru sʉnʉga-ti-kya-pʉga; yoghovʉchi 'uway
3p/s there-at-it willow/O the-O shake-CAUS-PL-REM coyote/G the/G
and they shook the willow-tree; but Coyote's eyes didn't fall back down,

pʉ'i-'u 'uru̱ kach-aqh wi'i-pʉga, 'uwayas ma-vaa-ma̱-'uru
eye-3s the/S NEG-it fall-REM 3s/G there-at-LOC-that
his (eyes) got stuck up there (in the willow);

pacha'a-ka-pʉga; u-vwaa-khwa̱ 'uwas sʉnʉga-ti-kya-sapa-ga,
stick-ANT-REM there-LOC-go 3s/S shake-CAUS-ANT-MOD-PAR
so while he (was standing) there shaking (the willow),

'umʉs pʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga súuvay-kwa-pʉgay-'u 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s.
3p/s go/PL-go-REM other/O-go-REM-3s there-at-go-C
the birds took off to another place.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'u-vwaa-s pagha-'ni-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
3s/s there-at-it there-at-C go-INT-REM 3s/s there-at-it
So Coyote was left there wandering about

'úu-pa-pʉga kach-'uru pʉ'i-'a-y; wá-mamachi-u 'u-vwaa-ma̱
there-DIR-REM NEG-that eye-have/NEG-IMM two-woman-PL there-at-LOC
(blind) with no eyes; now there were two women

pagha-'ni-pʉga, 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh pʉnikya-pʉgay-amʉ̱
go-INT-REM 3p/s there-at-it see-REM-3p
wandering about there, and they saw him then as

úu-pa-kway-'u; "'ina̱ 'áapachi̱ 'ani-gya 'ani-'wa-gha?"
there-DIR-go-3s this/s boy/s do-PAR WH-??-PAR
he was (wandering off) that-a-way; "What is this boy up to?"

máy-pʉga-amʉ̱ 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh
say-REM-3p 3p/s there-at-it 3p/s there-at-it
they said then; so they went to him,

'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga-amu̲, 'uwa-va-amu̲ picʉ-ghwa-pʉga-amu̲; 'uwas
3s/O-at-go-REM-3p 3s/O-at-3p come-go-REM-3p 3s/s
they approached him, they came to him; and he kept

'ú-vway-aqh pavichi-vʉ-m pʉ'i-[av] wʉka'mi-na-pʉga, 'umʉas-'uru
there-at-it weasel-NOM/O-INST eye-OWN cover-HAB-REM 3p/G-that
covering his eyes with a weasel-skin patch, when those

pʉnikya-y-ku̲ wá-mamachi-u 'umʉ.
see-IMM-SUB two-women-PL 3p/G
two women saw him.

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh nana-ma 'úu-pa paghay-pʉga, 'umʉs
3s/s there-at-it REC-LOC there-DIR walk-REM 3s/s
So then they all walked off together that-a-way, and the

'ú-vway-aqh wá-mamachi-u 'úmu̲: "'u-vwa-na̲-amʉ kuchu-mu̲"
there-at-it two-woman-PL the/s there-at-LOC-3p buffalo-PL
two women (told him): "Over there there are buffalos"

máy-pʉgay-amu̲; "'úvway" máy-pʉga yoghovʉchi̲ 'u, "'i-vee-s
say-REM-3p alright say-REM coyote/s the/s here-at-CO
they said; "Alright" said Coyote, "sit right

karʉ-[tʉ]-mu̲"; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'umʉ 'u-vwaa-chugway-kwa-pʉga
sit-NOM-PL 3s/s there-at-it 3p/O there-at-go-go-REM
here!"; and he went over there toward

kuchu-mʉ 'umʉ-vaa-[chukhwa̲].
buffalo-PL/O 3p/O-at-go
the buffalos.

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh mʊtʊni̲-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
3p/s there-at-it run/PL-REM 3s/s there-at-it
Well the buffalos took off running, so he began

ku̲-kukwi-kwa̲-pʉga, tʊa-vagha-qa-tʉ-mʉ-vaa-tʉ-'uru, 'í-vee-tʉ-sapa̲-'u
RED-shoot-go-REM rattle-walk-PL-REL-PL-LOC-DIR-that here-at-NOM-MOD-3s
shooting at them, in the direction where they were rumbling (stamping their

ku̲-kukwi-kwa-pʉga; kuchu 'uway 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ kwipa-pichʉ-pʉga.
RED-shoot-go-REM buffalo that/O there-at-go hit-arrive-REM
hooves), he kept shooting that way; (finally) he hit one buffalo.

['úmu̲-'ura] wá-mamachi-u 'úmu̲ 'u-vwa-amu̲ pʉni-kyarʉ-pʉgay-amu̲;
they-be two-woman-PL the/s there-at-3p look-sit-REM-3p
(And all the while) the two women were sitting there and watching;

'ú-vwaa-'uru pʉsagha-paghay-pʉgay-kʉ, 'úu-pa-kway-na-pʉga,
there-at-that search-walk-REM-SUB there-pass-go-HAB-REM
so while Coyote was going around searching (blindly for the dead buffalo),

'ugwi-na-s-av 'uru 'ʉri-aa-tʉ-s kwa-kwana-pʉga; 'umʉs
sniff-REL-C-OWN that/O arrow-G-NOM-C RED-smell-REM 3p/s
he went that-a-way, where he smelled his own smell (looking for) his arrows;

'ú-vway-aqh 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-amʉ: "'agha-ni-gya 'ani-kh,
there-at-it him-at-go-they WH-do-PAR do-IMM you-TOP
so then the two women went over to him (and said): "Why are you doing this,

'ʉmʉy-nugway 'úu-mʉ 'iya-paghay-'wa-miya?" "kach, navasʉ-n 'ani-kh,
2s/G-TOP arrow-2s here-walk-IMM-HAB NEG just-1s do-IMM
walking (past) you arrows?" "No, I'm just doing it for heck of it,

'anapʉ-aa-y-in, 'úvway, kach 'iya-na-wa-y" may-kya-na.
outgoing-G-O-1s alright NEG here-be -NEG-IMM say-ANT-REL
it's just my outgoing manner, there's nothing to it" that's what said.

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa paghay-pʉga, kuchu
3s/s there-at-it 3s/O-at-go walk-REM buffalo/O
So the two ladies walked over to him, toward the buffalo

'uway paqha-khay-na-'u 'uway; 'uwa-va waghay-kya-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-s-amʉ
the/O kill-ANT-REL-3s 3s/O 3s-at arrive/PL-ANT-REM there-at-C-3p
that he had killed; and they arrived there, and they built

'ava-ghani-chʉ-pʉga.
shade-house-build-REM
a shade-house there.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'ú-vwaa karʉ-pʉga, 'ava-gharʉ-pʉga, 'umʉs
3s/s there-at-it there-at sit-REM shade-sit-REM 3p/s
So Coyote sat there, he sat in the shade, and the

'ú-vway-aqh wá-mamachi-u 'úmʉ tʉka-'ini-pʉgay-amʉ; 'umʉs 'ú-vay-aqh
there-at-it two-woman-PL the/s eat-make-REM-they 3p/s there-at-it
two women then cooked the food; then they

kani-chʉ-pʉgay-amʉ, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh karʉ-pʉga; kʉma-tugwa-aqh
house-built-REM-3p 3s/s there-at-it sit-REM other-go-it
built him a house, and he sat (in there); having set the doors in different

yʉʉ-gharʉ-pʉgay-ku, ['uwas-'ura] karʉ-gya-'uru kani-chʉ-kway-na-amʉ
door-sit-REM-SUB 3s/s-be sit-PAR-that house-build-ANT-REL-3p
directions, Coyote was sitting there in the house they had built (for him)

'uru yʉʉ-aa-ri̱-ti-pʉga; "'agha-ni-kya-na̱ 'ú́mʉ̱-'ara
the/O door-O-??-CAUS-REM WH-do-ANT-REL 2s/S-be
facing away from the doors; "Why are you (sitting this way in) the house we

kani-chʉ-kay-na-nʉmʉ̱?" [máy-pʉgay-'u 'umʉs]; "'icha̱[-'ara]
house-build-ANT-REL-1p/EX say-REM-him 3p/S this-be
built you?" (the two women asked him); "I just do it for

navasʉ-n-'ara 'ani-kyay-in, tawi-vaa-chukhwa̱ kʉmaachi-u-aa
just-1s-be do-ANT-3s 3p/IN-at-go Comanche-PL-G
the heck of it, so that if the Comanches (enemies) were to sneak upon us,

'uni-'ni̱-ku̱, máa-pa chivu-khwa-gupʉ máy-gya-ni".
move-INT-SUB there-DIR exit/PL-go-SUBJ say-PAR-like
we may escape that-a-way, I'm thinking".

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh pu̱chuchugwa-pʉgay-amʉ̱ wá-mamachi-u 'ú́mʉ̱,
3p/S there-at-it know-REM-3p two-woman-PL the/S
So the two women figured out (that there was something wrong

'u-ma sichi-gya-y: "kach pʉ'i-'a-tʉ 'ara-qa" may-pʉgay-amʉ̱
there-LOC peek-PAR-IMM NEG eye-have/NEG-NOM be-ANT say-REM-3p
with him, sitting and) peeking (like that): "He's blind" they said

'ú-vway-aqh; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh ['uru ka-'ay-wa-tʉ]
there-at-it 3p/S there-at-it [that/O NEG-good-NEG-NOM/O]
then; and they wished him ill:

sʊtʊ'nay-pʉgay-amʉ̱: "'ú́ʉ-pʉi-gupʉ tugwa-na̱" máy-pʉgay-ni-amʉ̱; 'uwas
wish.for-REM-3p real-sleep-SUBJ night-LOC say-REM-like-3p 3s/S
"May he fall into deep asleep at night" they thought; and then (when) he started

'ú-vway-aqh 'ú́ʉ-pʉi-vaa-kwa-pʉgay-na̱, 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̱ tá-'avi-pʉga,
there-at-it real-sleep-IRR-go-REM-REL 3s/O-at-go foot-lie-REM
falling into deep sleep, he (put his head in her lap), of one of the women,

sú-kunani, súu-ku pa'a-tugwa-na̱ tawa-tavi-pʉga; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
one-O other-O complete-go-LOC tooth(?)-step-REM 3s/S there-at-it
stretched his feet all the way to the other; then he fell

'ú́ʉ-pʉi-kwa-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh pʉ'i-av 'uru 'uwas-kway
real-sleep-go-REM 3s/S there-at-it eye-OWN tet/O 3s/S-MOD
into deep sleep, he had his eyes (covered)

pʉi-kwa-kha-mʉnʉ-pʉga.
sleep-go-ANT-??-REM
having fallen asleep.

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh pʉi-kwa-kha-mi̲-pʉ-a-'u-'uru, 'i-mi-tukhwa̲
3p/s there-at-it sleep-go-ANT-LOC-NOM-G-3s-that here-LOC-go
Now the two women, when he had fallen asleep, they did

'ini-pʉga, pʉni'ni̲-pʉgay-amʉ, pʉ'i-'u 'uru̲ kach 'iya-na-pʉa; 'urus
do-REM look-REM-3p eye-3s the/s NEG here-be-REM/NEG it/s
this-a-way, they peeked, and his eyes were

'ú-vway-aqh pʉ'i-'u 'uru̲ kach 'iya-na-pʉa; múupʉvwia-agha-pʉga
there-at-it eye-3s the/s NEG here-be-REM/NEG maggots-have-REM
not there; his eyes were not there; there were maggots

pʉ'i-vaa-tu̲-'u.
eye-at-NOM-his
in his eyes.

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh kuchu-na̲ 'uway tʊʊ-vaya-'u
they there-at-it buffalo/O-LOC the/O hind-side-3s
So the two women took the buffalo's hind

kwée-wiyʉ-khwa-pʉgay-ku-amu̲, 'u-vwaa-na-xwa-amu̲ tá-wacʉ-ti-pʉga
across-???-go-REM-it-they there-LOC-on-go-they foot-put-CAUS-REM
quarters and put Coyote's foot on the buffalo's

kuchu-na̲ 'uway tʊʊ-vaya-na̲; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh 'urus-ay-pʉ
buffalo-LOC 3s/O hind-side-LOC 3p/s there-at-it that-O-NOM/O
hind quarter; and then they took that thing

kwée-wiyʉ-khwa-pʉga-vachi̲-amu̲, 'u-vwaa-na̲-'u-amu̲ tachi-wachʉ-pʉga;
across-??-go-REM-BG-3p there-at-LOC-3s-3p head-put-REM they
(rotten log?) and put it across, right there by Coyote's head; and they put

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh togho-kwáa-ki̲-pʉga-vachi̲-amu̲,
3p/s there-at-it right-run-??-REM-BG-3p
his head on-there; then they ran away,

supay-kwa-pʉgay-amu̲.
leave-go-REM-they
leaving Coyote lying there.

'uwas 'u-vwa-s pʉi-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh tapʉ'ni-pʉga,
3s/s there-at-C sleep-REM 3s/s there-at-it wake.up-REM
So Coyote was sleeping there, then he woke up,

tachi-aa-va-tukhwa̲ ta̲si'aavi-[aagha]-pʉga; 'umʉ-vaa-chukhwa̲
head-G-at-go ant-have-REM them-at-go
and his head was crawling with ants; so speaking

'apagha-gha 'áy-pʉga, wá-mamchi-u 'umʉ qha̲qharʉ-khay-ku̲, uwas
speak-PAR say-REM two-woman-PL the/O run-ANT-SUB 3s/s
to them he said, to the two women after they ran away (they came back?),

'u-vway-aqh: "tapʉ'ni-chi̲ 'uru pʉ́ka-'uni-kh̲" máy-pʉga, "tachi-n
there-at-it awake-NOM it/O strong-do-IMM say-REM head-1s
he said: "Me being awake, go ahead and do it!" he said, "my head

piyagha-ki"; 'uway 'ú-vway-aqh napavi-aa-'u-va̲ karʉ-rʉ̲,
itch-IMM 3s/O there-at-it foot-G-3s-at sit-ADJ
is itching"; then the one sitting at his foot, he shook her off

ta-nʉtigi-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh tapʉ'ni̲-kyay-ku̲-'u, 'urusa-y-pʉ
foot-shake.off-REM-3s 3s/s there-at-it wake-ANT-SUB-3s that-O-NOM/O
with his foot; but when he had woken up, he was lying there with

'u-vwa-na̲ tachi-'avi-pʉga, kuchu-na̲ tʘʘ-vaya-vʉ-pa-na̲
there-at-LOC head-lie-REM buffalo-on hind-side-NOM/O-at-LOC
his head (on the rotten log), and his foot was lying on the

ta-wachʉ-'avi-pʉga; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh tapʉ'ni-pʉga; 'umʉs
foot-put-lie-REM 3s/s there wake.up-REM 3p/s
buffalo's hind-quarter; so (finally) he woke up; but

'ú-vway-aqh tavʉ'ni̲-kyay-ku̲-'uru, wá-mamachi-u 'úmʉ̲
there-at-it wake.up-ANT-SUB-that two-woman-PL the/s
when he woke up, the two women,

kach-umʉ̲ 'iya-na-pʉa.
NEG-3s here-be-REM/NEG
were not there.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'úu-pa-pʉga,
3s/s there-at-it there-DIT-REM
So Coyote took off that-a-way,

'ugwi-nawa-kwa'a-paghay-kwa-pʉgay-amʉ̲; 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ 'ú-vway-aqh
sniff-tracks-move.fast-walk-go-REM-3p there-LOC-to there-at-it
tracking the two women by their smell; so he went that way

'ugwi-máy-pʉgay-ku, naway-amʉ̲ 'uru 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
smell-say-REM-it tracks-3p the/O 3s/s there-at-it
sniffing after them, he took off after their tracks

'úu-pa-kwa-pʉga, 'ugwi-na[-amʉ̲] tʉna-kwa'ay-pʉgay-amʉ̲.
there-DIR-go-REM smell-LOC-3p hunt-move.fast-REM-3p
going that-a-way, hunting for them by their smell.

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh wá-mamachi-u 'umʉ̲ pimi-[pʉni]-pʉgay-amʉ̲,
3p/s there-at-it two-women-PL the/s back-look-REM-3p
Now the two women looked back,

máy-pʉgay-amʉ̲, nawa-va-tugwa-amʉ̲-'uru mawisi̲-pʉga[y-ku̲]…
say-REM-3s both-at-go-3s-that appear-REM[-SUB]
and they said, when he appeared there following their tracks…

wa-wacuwi̲-kwa-pʉgay-amʉ̲ tʉvwa-chi̲-'u, wa-wachuwi̲-pʉgay-amʉ̲;
RED-catch.up-go-REM-3p down-NOM-3s RED-overtake-REM-them
he had caught up with them down there, he had caught up with them;

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh ['uwayas] wa-wacuwi̲-ku̲-amʉ, sigwatʉ
3p/s there-at-it 3s/GEN RED-overtake-SUB-3p rattle/O
so when he caught up with them,

tʊ-tʊ'na-vagha-ti-pʉga, 'ini-tugwa-amʉ 'ini-pʉga, sigwatʉ 'uru
RED-strike-go-CAUS-REM away-go-3p do-REM rattle/O the/O
they hit their rattles repeatedly, then threw

tʉravi-chi̲ tʉvwa-agha-tʉ-pa.
throw-NOM down-have-NOM-DIR
them away down (a steep cliff).

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'ini-tugwa-amʉ-'uru 'ini-ku̲, 'imi-kwa-tʉ
3s/s there-at-it away-go-3p that do-SUB there-go-NOM
But when they did that, Coyote ran

qha̲qharʉ-pʉga tʉvwa-agha-na-pa-'u; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh wá-mamachi-u
run-REM down-have-REL-DIR-3s 3s/s there-at-t two-women-PL
that way down the cliff; so the two women looked down from

'umʉ̲ 'u-vwaa tíi-amʉ̲ pʉnikya-pʉga; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh yoghovʉchi̲
the/s there-at high-3s see-REM he then coyote/s
way up there and saw him; Coyote was sitting down

'u kanʉga-va karʉ-pʉga; 'umʉ[a]s pʉnika-pʉgay-[ku̲]-amʉ̲,
the/s hollow-at sit-REM 3p/G see-REM-SUB-3p
there in the hollow; so when they saw him,

kiya-'ni-kwa-pʉgay-amʉ̲: "nanʊs-avʉ túuvʉ-y[-av] túu-rʉka-ghari!"
laugh-INT-go-REM-3p REFL-OWN/O marrow-O-OWN marrow-eat-sit/IMM
they began laughing: "He's sitting and eating his own marrow!"

máy-pʉga-amʉ̲ 'umʉs wá-mamachi-u 'umʉ̲; "naghachi-u-'ara wíitʉsʉ-n
say-REM-3p 3p/s two-woman-PL the/s bighorn-PL-be past-1s
the two women said; "It's the marrow of the bighorn sheep that

qoˈay-pʉ	túu-aa-y”	máy-pʉga	ˈú-vway-aqh	ˈuwas;	ˈuru-sapa̲-aqh
slaughter-NOM/O	marrow-G-O	say-REM	there-at-it	3s/s	that/O-MOD-it

I slaughtered long ago” he said; that’s the

pʉsariniya[-qa]-na-n.
story.tell-PL-REL-1s
story that they told me’.

TEXT 11

Porcupine, buffalo-cow and Sinawav

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 9-3-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Neil Cloud, Sunshine C. Smith

kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas yʉʉpʉchi̲ 'ura-pʉga, kh-'ura tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga,
the-be-that 3s/s porcupine/s be-REM then-be child-PL-have-REM
There was Porcupine, and he had children,

wáy-kunani; kh-'ura tuachi-u-av supay-kwa-pʉga: "i-vee-sapa̲-'uru mʉ́ni̲
two-O then-be child-PL-OWN leave-go-REM here-at-MO-that 2p/s
two of them; and he used to leave them behind: "You hang around here"

pagha-'ni-nʉ" máy-pʉga, "nʉ́' 'áy-ku̲ tʉna-khwa-vaa-chi̲"
go-INT-IMP say-REM 1s/s say-SUB hunt-go-IRR-NOM
he would tell them, "while I go hunting"

máy-pʉga-'uru; 'ú-'u̲ni-chi̲-'ura 'ura-vachi̲ 'ú yʉʉpʉchi̲, tuachi-u-av
say-REM-that RED-do-NOM-be be-BG that/s porcupine/s child-PL-OWN
he said; that's what Porcupine always does, deserting his children

'i-vee-chi-chi-mʉ̲ supay-khwa-rʉ̲; 'umʉs-'ura 'u-vwaa-s miya-'ni-gya,
here-at-NOM-DIM-PL leave-go-ADJ 3p/s-be there-at-C go/PL-INT-PAR
like that; and they would then wander about,

na-nana̲-kwa-vachi-mʉ̲.
RED-grow-go-BG-PL
till they grow up.

'uwas-'ura tʉna-khwa-pʉga, tʉpʉychi-'ura… manu-vaa-tʉ̲-aa-s
3s/s-be hunt-go-REM rock/O-be all-at-NOM-O-C
So Porcupine went hunting, he (asked) the rock… all over the

tʉvʉy-pagha-pʉga, paghay-'wa̲-gha: "'íi-pa-aa kuchu-mʉ̲ pagha-y?"
ask-go-REM walk-PAR here-DIR-Q buffalo-PL go-IMM
place he went asking, walking: "Have the buffalo passed through here?"

máy-pagha-pʉga; tʉpʉychi̱ ˈu… “wíitʉs-ˈuru” máy-pʉga-ˈura ˈuwas,
say-go-REM rock/s the/s past-that say-REM-be 3s/s
he kept asking; well the rock (told him)… “Long ago” he said,

“ˈúu-pa págha̱-kwa-pʉga-s”; “ˈu-vwaa, ˈúvway”, pagha-nu̱kwi-pʉga.
there-DIR go-go-REM-C there-at alright go-run-REM
“they went that-a-way”; “Fine, alright”, (said Porcupine) and hurried on.

ˈu-vwaa-tʉ ˈivichi, ivichi kutupʉ-gapʉ maay-pʉga-s: “ˈíi-pa-aa
there-at-DIR stick/O stick/G stump-DEFUN/O see-REM-C here-DIR
Well further on he saw a stick, an old tree stump: “Have the buffalo gone

kuchu-mʉ̱ pagha-y?” máy-pʉga-s; “ˈáavʉ̱ ˈu-na-khwa-tukhwa̱-ˈuru”
buffalo-PL go-IMM say-REM-C now there-LOC-go-go-that
through here?” he asked; “Just now (they were going) that-a-way”

máy-pʉay-agha-s-ˈura; [ˈuwas-ˈura] pagha-nu̱kwi-pʉga-s.
say-REM-CL-C-be 3s/s-be go-run-REM-C
said the tree stump; so Porcupine hurried on.

ˈu-vwaa-tʉ sʉʉvʉpʉ tʉvʉy-pʉga-s; “ˈʉʉ, namu-kʉ́aw-ˈuru”
there-at-DIR cottonwood/O ask-REM-C yes, first-yesterday-that
Further on he asked a cottonwood; “Yes, the day before yesterday”

máy-pʉga-s ˈuwas, “ˈíi-pa pagha-y” máy-pʉga-s; “ˈúvway” máy-pʉga-s
say-REM-C 3s/s here-DIR go-IMM say-REM-C alright say-REN-C
said the cottonwood, “they have gone through here” he said; “Alright” said

[ˈuwas]; ˈu-vwaa-tʉ kanavi tʉvʉy-pʉga-s; kanavi̱ ˈura-vachi̱, sʊ́ʊ-pʉga,
3s/s there-at-DIR willow/O ask-REM-C willow/s be-BG rustle-REM
Porcupine; then further on he asked a willow; it was a willow, rustling,

páa-nu̱kwi-pʉga-s… ˈʉʉ, kanavi̱ ˈura-pʉga; “ˈáavʉ-ma̱-kʉ, suwa̱-ˈaavʉ̱
water-run-REM-C yes willow/s be-REM now-LOC-EM almost-now
the water was running… yes, it was a willow; “right now, just now

ˈíi-pa pʊri” máy-pʉga, “ˈu-vwaa-na̱-ˈura-kʉ”; “ˈúvway”
here-DIR go/PL/IMM say-REM there-at-LOC-be-EM alright
they have gone through this way” said the willow, “right there”; “Alright” said

máy-pʉga-s, pagha-nu̱kwi-pʉga-s ˈuwas.
say-REM-C go-run-REM-C 3s/s
Porcupine, and he hurried on.

togho-aa-'ura-'uru kwáy-kʉ̲-'ura, kwáa -- kuchu-puku-u paghay-pʉga,
right-??-be-that run-SUB-be INTJ buffalo-cow-PL walk-REM
Then right there as he was going, lo--buffalo cows were walking there,

kuchu-mʉ̲ pá-aghaa-va chivu-khwa̲-pʉga; "'agha-ni-aa 'ú́ʉʉ… súu-yis
buffalo-PL/S water-have-at climb/PL-go-REM WH-do-Q INTJ one-S
buffalos were climbing out of the water-ford; "How come wow… one is

tʉvʉchi̲ pina-wʉnʉ-khwa-y?" kuchu-puku-raa-pʉchi̲, kuchu-taa-pʉchi̲…
very follow-stand-go-IMM buffalo-pet-child-DIM buffalo-child-dim
so far behind?" (he wondered); it was a tiny buffalo calf, a tiny buffalo calf…

"'agha-ni-aa-'ura?" máy-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga.
WH-do-Q-be say-REM end be-REM
"How come?" he wondered; well that was that.

'uwas-'ura kwáa karʉ-khwa̲-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-kway pá-gúaa-va
3s/S-be INTJ sit-go-REM there-at-MOD water-edge-at
So porcupine sat down, he sat down right there at the water-edge:

karʉ-khwa̲-pʉga: "páa-n nó́ʊ-ghwa-nʉ" máy-pʉga; "nʉ́-aa?" máy-pʉga
sit-go-REM water-1s carry-go-IMP say-REM 1s-Q say-REM
"Would you carry me across the water?" he asked her; "Who, me?" said

kuchu-puku-raa-chi̲, "kách" [máy-pʉga] 'uwas; "páa-n nó́ʊ-ghwa-nʉ?"
buffalo-cow-child-NOM/S NEG say-REM 3s/S water-1s carry-go-IMP
the buffalo calf, "no" she said; (so he asked another one) "Would you carry me

máy-pʉga-s; "nʉ́-aa?" máy-pʉga, "kach" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas,
say-REM-C 1s-Q say-REM NEG say-REM-C 3s/S
across?" "Who, me?" she said, "no" she said too,

máy-kya-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs; pina-khwa̲-'uru-'ura 'avatʉ̲ píapi̲ 'áy-pʉga:
say-PL-REM end follow-go-that-be big/S female/S say-REM
they (all) said; well; so finally a big cow said:

"nʉ́-aa?" máy-pʉga; "páa-n[-aa] nó́ʊ-ghwa-nʉ?" 'áy-kh̲-'u-'uru; "'úvway"
1s-Q say-REM water-1s-Q carry-go-IMP say-IMM-3s-that alright
"Me?" she said; "Would you carry me across?" Porcupine asked her; "Alright"

máy-pʉga 'uwas.
say-REM 3s/S
she said.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru kutupʉ-'a yʉga-pʉga 'uwas… 'ú-uway
there-at-it-TOP-that butt/O-1s enter-REM 3s/s RED-3s/O
So then he entered her rectum… of that big

'avatʉ-mʉ pí́api… pina-khwa-'ura-'uru: "'agha-va karʉ-vaa-ni?"
big-AN/O female/O follow-go-be-that WH-at sit-IRR-FUT
cow…[1] well finally (she said): "Where are you going to sit?"

máy-pʉgay-'u, "nʉ́ka-va[-n]-aa?… tachi-va-n-aa?" "Muguchi-kwa-ku-m,
say-REM-3s ear-at-1s-Q head-at-1s-Q shake.head-go-SUB-2s
she asked him, "on my ears? On my head?" "If you shake your head,

wi'i-vichʉ-gwa-vaa" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; "nʉ́-va-na-aa togoy?" máy-pʉga-s
fall-come-go-IRR say-REM-C 3s/s 1s-at-LOC-Q good say-REM-C
I'll fall" said Porcupine; "Alright on top of me?"

'uwas; "pagha-nukwi-kyay-ku-m-'uru, wi'i-vichu-gwa-vaa" máy-pʉga-s
3s/s go-run-ANT-SUB-2s-that fall-come-go-IRR say-REM-S
she asked; "If you go running, I'll fall down" he said;

['uwas]; "ta-sʉʉvʉ-n-aa toghoy?" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; "pa-rʉkwa-n
3s/s foot-toe-1s-Q good say-REM-C 3s/s water-under-1s
"Alright in my hooves then?" she asked; "But you'll squash me under

ta-yáakwa-kwa-vaa" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; "kwasi-ma-n-aa toghoy?"
foot-SQUASH-go-IRR" say-REM-C 3s/S tail-LOC-1s-Q good?
the water then" he said; "Alright on my tail then?"

máy-pʉga; "kách, kwasi-wʉnay-kyay-kʉ-mʉ-'uru, wi'i-vichʉ-gwa-vaa"
say-REM NEG tail-swish-ANT-SUB-2s-that fall-arrive-go-IRR
she asked; "No, if you swish your tail, I'll fall down"

máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; "nʉ́-pa-aa toghoy?" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; "'úvway"
say-REM-C 3s/s 1s-DIR-Q good say-REM-C 3s/s alright
he said; "How about inside me then?" she asked; "Alright"

máy-pʉga 'ú-vway-aqh.
say-REM there-at-it
he said then.

'uwa-naagha-'ura-'uru yʉga-pʉga 'ú-vway-aqh; pʉʉ-ay-av-'uru
3s/O-in-be-that enter-REM there-at-it fur-O-OWN-that
So Porcupine entered her then, he smoothed down his quills

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1. The story-teller here jumps ahead of herself, telling a later part ahead of time, then re-tracking.

'átʉ-mani-kya; kh-'ura-'uru paghay-kwa-pʉga; "nʉ́-'ura-'ara-'uru"
well-do.like-ANT then-be-that walk-go-REM 1s-be-be-that
like this (gesture); then she started walking; "Now"

máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, "'uru kawayaa-tukhwa̲ chipi-u-chi̲, káatʉ
say-REM-be 3s/S that ??-go climb-INC-NOM river.rock/O
she said, "when I start climbing out (of the water), I'll make

tʊ́ʊ-vagha-vaa-tʉ̲" 'áy-pʉga 'uwas, "'ú-vway-aqh-'ura pini-tukhwa̲
rumble-go-IRR-NOM say-REM 3s/s there-at-it-be out-go
rock-rumbling noise" she said, "that's when you should jump

wi'i-paa" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u.
drop-IRR say-REM-CL-3s
out" she told him.

'uwa-pa karʉ-khwa̲-pʉga, 'uwa-naagha̲ karʉ-khwa̲-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs,
3s/O-DIR sit-go-REM 3s/O-in sit-go-REM end
So Porcupine settled down, he settled down inside her; well, finally she

káatʉ tʊ́ʊ-vagha-pʉga 'uwas; 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru pʉsapʊ'ʊ-'a
river.rock/O rumble-go-REM 3s/S there-at-it-TOP-that intestine-3s
made the river-rock rumbling noise; but all along he had been eating her

tʉka-pagha-pʉga, 'uwa-naagha̲-tʉ suwa-pagha-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv
eat-go-REM 3s/O-in-NOM/O devour-go-REM there-at-it-TOP
intestines, he kept devouring her innards; and soon she started meandering like

'uwas mani-vʊrʊ-pʉga, ya'ay-gya 'uni-pʉga-vachi̲; kh-'ura-'uru kwipa-tʉ
3s/s do.like-go-REM die-PAR do-REM-BG then-be-that hit-NOM/O
this (gesture), she was dying as she walked; then she was about to hit the

mani-khwa-pʉga, saghoy-aa-'u… chichi-gya-rʉ̲… chichi-mani-khwa̲-pʉga;
do.like-go-REM stomach-G-her hard-have-ADJ hard-do.like-go-REM
ground like this, her stomach… hard… it became hard like this;

kh-'ura pina-khwa̲ wíi-tavay-kyay-ku̲-'uru, ['uwas-'ura] pini-tukhwa̲
then-be follow-go old-sun-ANT-SUB-that 3s/s-be out-go
then after a long time, Porcupine climbed down out of her; and then just like

chipi-pʉga; 'úniguni ya'ay-kwa-pʉ-u-pʉga.
climb-REM sudden die-go-NOM-INC-REM
that she dropped dead.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'úmʉ̲ kuchu-u súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲ yagha-kwa-y
there-at-it-TOP-that those/s buffalo-PL other-NOM-PL/s cry-go-IMM
In the mean time those other buffalos kept going on and bawling

miya-gha tʉgay-[kya]-pʉga; 'uwas-'uru 'ú-vwa 'uni-'nḭ-pʉga;
go/PL-PAR become-PL-REM 3s/S-that there-at do-INT-REM
and mooing farther on; and Porcupine just hung out back there;

"'agha-ni-vee-pʉ 'ura-nʉ ma-ra-pʉ̲-u-ni?" 'uwas-'ura máy-pʉga,
WH-do-IRR-NOM/O be-IMP that-be-NOM-AN-like 3s/S-be say-REM,
"What should I do with such a big one?" he wondered,

"'agha-ni-vee-pʉ 'ura-nʉ?" máy-gya-ni, máy-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs,
WH-do-IRR-NOM/O be-IMP say-PAR-like say-REM end
"what could I do (with her)?" he thought, he said; well,

'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga.
end be-REM
so that was that.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru págha̲-kwa-pʉga 'uwas, 'u-vwaa-na̲-'ura
there-at-it-TOP-that go-go-REM 3s/s there-at-LOC-be
So Porcupine took off, he went way up high there,

tíi-pʉga, maavʉ-aagha-rukhwa̲, sʉʉvʉ 'ú-aagha-rukhwa̲, sʉʉvʉ̲
high-REM bush-have-go red.berry/O there-have-go red.berry/S
where there were bushes, (there were) red-berries there, it was red-berries,

'ura-vachi̲, ta-tapʉni-kya-tʉ̲, 'úru̲-aagha-rukhwa̲ 'uni-kwa̲-pʉga; kh-'ura
be-BG RED-bunch-ANT-NOM that-have-go do-go-REM then-be
all in bunches, he went through that bush area; and he

máy-pagha-pʉga: "'ipʉ-m-s-aa-kʉ̲ 'inay tʉgaani-vee-tʉ-s 'inay?"
say-go-REM WH-INST-C-O-it this/O skin-IRR-NOM-C this/O
kept saying: "What shall I skin this one with?"

máy-pagha-pʉga, "'ipʉ-m-s 'inay tʉgaani-vee-tʉ-s?" máy-pagha-pʉga
say-go-REM WH-INST-C this/O skin-IRR-NOM-C say-go-REM
he kept saying. "what shall I skin this one with?" that

'ú yʉʉpʉchi̲, "'ipʉ-m-s 'inay tʉgaani-vee-tʉ-s 'inay?"
that/S porcupine/S WH-INST-C this/S skin-IRR-NOM-S this/O
porcupine kept saying, "what shall I skin this one with?"

máy-kya-'u-'ura-'uru 'i-vee-chi̲; "sʉʉvʉ-aagha-vachi̲!" 'áy-pʉga,
say-ANT-3s-be-that there-at-NOM red.berry-have-BG say-REM
that's what he kept saying there; "(Look) where there are red berry bushes!"

"'iya-naagha̲, nʉ́nay sʉʉ-wiichi̲!" 'áy-pʉga, 'áy-pʉga-'uru.
here-in 1s/G strong-knife say-REM say-REM-that
said (a voice), "in here, my strong-knife!" it said, (the voice) said.

kh-ˈura-ˈuru ˈuwas ˈáy-pʉga: “ˈipʉ-m-s ˈinay ˈurus ˈi-vee?
then-be-that 3s/s say-REM WH-inst-C this/O that-C here-at
So then Porcupine said: “I was thinking what shall I (do) this

máy-kya-ni-kʉ” máy-pʉga; “kách” ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwas… Sinawavi̱… Sinawavi̱
say-ANT-do-EM say-REM NEG say-REM 3s/s Sinawav/s Sinawav/s
one here with?” he said; “No” said the voice… Sinawav… it was Sinawav;

ˈura-pʉga; “ˈipʉ-m-s ˈinay tʉgaani-s ˈinay? máy-kya-kʉ!” máy-pʉga;
be-REM WH-INST-C this/O skin-C this/O say-ANT-EM say-REM
“What shall I skin this one with? is what you said!” the voice said;

“kách” máy-pʉga ˈuwas; ˈú-vwaay-amʉ̱ máy-púga; “ˈipʉ-m-s ˈinay
NEG say-REM 3s/s there-at-3p say-REM WH-with-C this/O
“No” said Porcupine; so they argued; “I surely thought with what shall I (do)

ˈurus ˈi-vee? máy-kya-ni-kʉ, kachi-n-kʉ máy-wa!” máy-pagha-pʉga
that/C here-at say-ANT-like-EM NEG-1s-EM say-NEG say-go-REM
this one here? I didn’t say it the other way!” Porcupine kept saying; “Well then,

ˈuwas; “ˈʉvʉs, ˈú-vway-aqh máy-gwa-ʉs!” máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu; “ˈipʉ-m-s
3a/s end there-at-it say-go/IMP-C say-REM-CL-3s WH-with-C
say it once again now!” Sinawav told him; (so Porcupine said): “What do I skin

ˈinay tʉgaani-s ˈinay?” “máy-kya-kʉ!” máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu; ˈʉvʉs.
this/O skin-C this/O say-ANT-EM say-REM-CL-3s end
this one with?” “You said it exactly!” Sinawav told him; well, that was that.[2]

ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru ˈuwas máy-pʉga: “ˈi-vee-kʉ tʉvwa kuchu
there-at-it-be-that 3s/s say-REM here-at-EM down buffalo/G
So then Porcupine said: “Right down here there’s a buffalo-cow

píapi̱ ˈavi” máy-pʉga, “kach-ukh-ˈura nʉˈ wiichi-ˈa[-tʉ̱]”
female/s lie/IMM say-REM NEG-it-be 1s/s knife-have/NEG-NOM
lying” he said, “and I don’t have a knife” he said,

máy-pʉga, “tʉgaani-vaa-chi̱-ˈu-ˈuru” máy-pʉga; “ˈiya-naagha-agha nʉ́nay
say-REM skin-IRR-NOM-3s-that say-REM here-in-have 1s/G
“to skin her with” he said; “Well in here there’s my

2. The argument hinges on Porcupine trying to hide from Sinawav the fact that he had the carcass of the buffalo-cow hidden there. His fear – that Sinawav would steal the carcass from him – is well founded by what follows.

sʉʉ-wiichi̱" máy-pʉga, "'uvwiya-rami̱ 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-kwaa-vaa"
strong-knife say-REM HORT-2d/IN 3s/O-at-go-go-IRR
strong-knife" said Sinawav, "why don't we-two go to her then"

máy-pʉay-aghay-'u.
say-REM-CL-3s
he told him.

'úniguni-ukh 'ura-pʉga Sinawavi̱ má… Sinawavi̱… núuchi-gya…
sudden-it be-REM Sinawav/s that/s Sinawav/s human-be
And lo, it was Sinawav… Sinawav… he was human…

'uwas 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̱ 'uwas, 'uwa-vaa[-chukhwa̱]… 'inay-kwa-pa-chʉ
3s/s 3s/O-at-go 3s/s 3s/O-at-go this/O-go-DIR-DIR
he went toward the buffalo-cow, toward her… when stepping toward

tavi-chi̱… 'áy-pʉga-s, má sinawavi̱: "má-aghaa-va-s… 'uwa-u-tʉ̱
step-NOM say-REM-C that/s Sinawav/s that-over-at-C jump-INC-REL
this one… he said, Sinawav did: "He who jumps over that one will skin

tʉgaani-vaa" máy-pʉga-s.
skin-IRR" say-REM-S
(and eat) her" he said.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv 'ú yʉʉpʉchi̱ paya-'uwa-khwa̱-pʉga,
thereat-it-TOP that/s porcupine/s side-jump-go-REM
So right away Porcupine tried to jump over her side,

'i-vee-tʉ̱-aa-s… wi'i-na-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh 'úniguni ['uwas] navas
here-at-NOM-O-C jump-HAB-REM thereat-it sudden 3s/s just
right there… he kept jumping (but missed); then suddenly Sinawav just

'uwa-vaaghа̱ 'uwa-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-na̱-'ura-'uru tʉgaani-pʉgay-'u 'uwas,
3s/O-over jump-REM there-at-LOC-be-that skin-REM-3s 3s/s
jumped over her; so right there and then he skinned her,

Sinawavi̱ 'u tʉgaani-pʉgay-'u.
Sinawav/s the/s skin-REM-3s
Sinawav skinned her.

'uwas-'ura-'uru… 'uwa-vaa-chʉ karʉ-vachi̱, pa̱qha-qa-tʉ̱-'u… kh-'ura
3s/s-be-that 3s/O-at-DIR sit-BG kill-ANT-REL-3s then-be
So now Porcupine was sitting in front of the cow, the one who killed her…

'áy-vachi̱… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-s 'áy-vachi̱: "'íiii…" kh-'ura 'uwas
say-BG there-at-it-be-C say-REM INTJ then-be 3s/s
so he said… right then he said (in frustration): "'íiii…" then Sinawav

paay-ta-vachi-'u… 'uru 'uwa-naagha-tʉ-'uru… saghoyvʉ[-va-na] 'uru…
call-PASS-BG-3s that/O 3s/O-in-DIR-that stomach-at-LOC the/O
called to him… her innards… on her stomach… there was really

yuuvʉ pacha'a-qa-mi 'ʉ́ʉ-nukway-aa 'u-ra-tʉ-aa-ni; "'ichay-'uru 'umʉ
fat/O stick-ANT-HAB just-TOP-?? that-be-NOM-O-like this/O-that 3p/O
(lots of) fat stuck there just like that; "Now you go feed all

pa-vaa-vuku-u-n magha-khwa-nʉ" may-pʉga, "'umʉy-saa 'uru
water-at-pet-PL-1s feed-go-IMP say-REM you-TOP-that that/O
this to my pet water-bugs" he told Porcupine, "and you

kwichapʉ tʉka-nʉ!" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u, 'uway yʉʉpʉchi…
feces/O eat-IMP say-REM-CL-3s 3s/O porcupine/O
yourself go eat that shit!" he told him, told that Porcupine…

pina-khwa-'ura 'uwas-'ura 'umʉ pa-vaa-vuku-chi-u… yuuvʉ-aa-s
follow-go-be 3s/S-be 3s/O water-at-pet-NOM-PL fat-O-C
But later (when) Porcupine… those pet water-bugs… he himself

'uwas tʉka-khwa-pʉga, 'umʉ-'ura pa-vaa-vuku-chi-u kwichapʉ
3s/S eat-go-REM 3p/O-be water-at-pet-NOM-PL feces/O
ate the fat, and he fed the shit to the pet water-bugs,

maga-pʉga, máy-kya-khwa-ta[-na-]sapa… pina-khwa-unuv-'ura-'uru
feed-REM say-ANT-go-PASS-REL-MOD follow-go-TOP-be-that
in spite of what he had been told… well later on

'uwas-'uru tʉvʉy-khwa-pʉay-aghay-amʉ, 'umʉ pa-vaa-vuku-chi-u:
3s/S-that ask-go-REM-CL-them 3p/O water-at-pet-NOM-PL
Sinawav asked them, his pet water-bugs:

"'ipʉ-amʉ mʉni magha-ta-'ay?" "'uwas 'u-nukwa 'uwas nʉmʉy-aa-kʉ
WH/O-2p 2p/O feed-PASS-IMM 3s/S 3s/S-TOP 3s/S 1p/O-O-EM
"What were you fed?" "He fed us shit,

kwichapʉ magha-kwa-y, 'uwas ma-vaay-'ura yuuvʉ kutupʉ-av
feces/O feed-go-IMM 3s/S there-at-be fat/O butt/O-OWN
while he himself right over there is kneading his ass

yuu-tʉsaghoy-'ni!" máy[-kya]-pʉay-aghay-'u.
fat-knead-INT/IMM say-PL-REM-CL-3s
with fat!" they told him.

'ʉvʉs, na'ay'a-pʉga 'uwas Sinawavi, 'u-vwaa-'u karʉ-khu,
end angry-REM 3s/S sinawav/S there-at-3s sit-SUB
Well Sinawav got real mad, so while sitting there,

ta-tavi-pʉay-aghay-'u 'ʊʊ-maku-'u: "'agha-ni-gya-'uru 'ini-kh?"
RED-throw-REM-CL-3s bone-with-3s WH-do-PAR-that/O do-IMM
he pelted Porcupine with the bases: "Why have you done that?"

máy-gya-'uru, "'agha-ni-gya-'uru 'umʉ kwichapʉ magha-y?" máy-pʉga,
say-PAR-that WH-do-PAR-that/O 3p/O feces/O feed-IMM say-REM
he asked Porcupine, why have you fed them feces?" he said,

tʉ-tʉravi-pʉay-aghay-'u 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s, yʉʉpʉchi-kʉ-tʉ…
RED-pelt-REM-CL-3s there-at-go-C porcupine/O-EM-DIR…
and he pelted him (with bases), pelted Porcupine real good…

'u-vwaa-'u 'uway-pʉay-aghay-'u, 'áavʉ-'ura-'uru tʉkuavi 'uru
there-at-3s hang-REM-CONC-3s now-be-that meat/O the/O
Now Sinawav hung porcupine up, then he hung the meat

yʉvʉpʉ-maku-'uru 'ú-'uway-pʉga; tʉgaani-maku-chaay-'u, 'uway
pine-with-that RED-hang-REM skin-finish-INC-3s that/O
(of the buffalo-cow) all over the pine tree; he finished skinning her

yʉʉpʉchi 'ina-kwa-paaghʉ 'uway-kya-pʉga, 'uwa-rʉkwa-tukhwʉ
porcupine/O here-go-side hang-ANT-REM 3s/O-under-go
(buffalo-cow), and he hung Porcupine up (in the pine), and underneath

kwicha-kwʉ-pʉay-agha; kh-'ura-'uru kwichapʉ-av 'ay-pʉga: "'iya-na-chaa
defecate-go-REM-CL then-be-that feces/O-OWN say-REM here-LOC-INC
him he defecated; then he told his feces: "The minute

manay-kwʉ-ukh, máy-nʉ-'uru" 'áy-vachi-s-'u, Sinawavi 'u…
move-go-SUB say-1s-that say-BG-C-3s Sinawav/s the/s
he starts moving here, tell me" he told him, Sinawav did…

pághʉ-kwa-vachi-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh, kh-'ura-'uru
go-go-BG-that there-at-it then-be-that
and he took off then, and he went

pʉ́a-u-vwaa-chugwa-kwa[-av] 'uni-'wa-vaachi.
kin-PL-at-go-go-OWN do-??-BG
to visit his relatives.

kh-'ura, pina-khwʉ-'ura, 'ʉvʉs, 'uwas ma-manay-'wi-vacchi;
then-be follow-go-be end 3s/S RED-move-??-BG
Then, later on, well, Porcupine started stirring;

"'iya-na-chaa manay-khwa!" máy-na-pʉga-aghay-'u ['urus];
here-LOC-INC move-go say-HAB-REM-CL-3s that/s
"Here he is starting to move!" the feces called out;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura 'úu-pa tʉ-tʉrạvi-pʉgay-'u,
there-at-be-that 3s/s-be there-DIR RED-throw-REM-3s
so Sinawav hurried back that way and pelted Porcupine (with bones) again,

pị-piyoghwa-na-pʉgay-'u; 'áa-miya-tʉga-pʉgaa-ni, pina-khwạ-'ura
RED-pull-HAB-REM-3s gentle-far-become-REM-like follow-go-be
then dragged him around; then quietly he moved away; and then finally

yáakwi-pʉga.
disappear-REM
he disappeared (again).

pina-khwạ-'u ma-manay-'wi-pʉga 'uwas 'u; "máa 'iya-na-chaa
follow-go-3s RED-move-??-REM 3s/s the/s that/s here-LOC-INC
After a while Porcupine stirred again; "Here he is

manay-khwa!" máy-pʉga-s 'urus; 'uwas ka-'iya-na-pʉa-s, 'íni-kway,
move-go say-REM-C that/s 3s/s NEG-here-be-REM-S WH-MOD
moving again!" the feces said again; but he wasn't there anymore,

'uwas Sinawavị; pina-khwạ-'ura 'urus-kway 'anʉ-'apagha-y 'ú-vway.
3s/s Sinawav/s follow-go-be that/s-MOD just-talk-IMM there-at
what's-his-name, Sinawav; so finally that thing was just talking there uselessly.

'uwas[-'ura yʉʉpʉchị] 'ini-kwạ-pachị-ukh pʉ́-m-av
3s/s -be porcupine/S do-go-BG-it REL-with-OWN
Now Porcupine untied the (rope) he was hung with;

'uway-kya-nạ; 'ipʉ-vi-chị 'áy-vʉ̱ súu-kʉpʉy 'apagha-y; "kwichapʉ̱
hang-ANT-REL WH/O-NOM-NOM say-NOM improper-?? say-IMM feces
what that thing was saying was totally out of line; "They'll call

máy-kya-paa-pʉ̱!" [máy-pʉgay-kʉ̱], yʉʉ-kwịpa-pʉgay-ku, mana-'wa-m-av
say-PL-IRR-NOM say-REM-it porcupine-hit-REM-it quill-??-with-OWN
you shit!" Porcupine told it, and he porcupine-whipped it, he whipped it with

'uru kwịpa-pʉga, páaqha-pɵrɵ-kwa-pʉga 'urus, 'uwas 'u
that/o hit-REM cry-go-go-REM that/s 3s/s the/s
his quills, and the feces kept shrieking, and the one who made it (Sinawav)

kwicha-pʉga-tʉ̱-ukh 'ʉvʉs 'ura-'ay.
defecate-REM-REL-it end be-REM
wasn't there (to help it).

kh-'ura ['uwas 'u] pichʉ-ka-pʉga, kani-vaa[-tugwa]-av, kh-'ura
then-be 3s/s the/s return-ANT-REM house/O-at-go-OWN then-be
Well Sinawav had gone back home,

máy-pʉga: "'i-vee-kʉ tʉvwa tʉkuavi, yʉvʉpʉ-ma 'ú-'uway-kya"
say-REM: here-at-EM down meat/S pine/O-LOC RED-hang-PASS
and he said: "Down right there there's meat, hanging all over the pine tree!"

máy-vachi, "yʉʉpʉchi-gyapʉ 'ura-yi-s" 'áy-pʉga kh-'ura; "yʉʉpʉchi,
say-BG porcupine-DEFUN be-IMM-C say-REM then-be porcupine
he said, "and a dead porcupine too" he said; "Porcupine,

hái!…" tuachi-u-'u páaqha-pʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga, "'áavʉ-s-'ura múa-n
INTJ child-PL-3s shout-go-go-REM now-C-be father1s
hey!…" his children jumped around shouting, "now my father is going

yʉʉ-vacha 'uni-kʉ-paa-ni-n!" 'áy-kya-pʉga, "yʉʉ-vacha
porcupine-shoe/O do-BEN-IRR-FUT-1s say-PL-REM porcupine-shoe/O
to make me porcupine shoes!" they said, "he'll make (us)

'uni-paa-ni!" 'áy-kya-pʉga, sʉ-suwaay-kya-pʉga.
do-IRR-FUT say-PL-REM RED-happy-PL-REM
porcupine shoes!" they said, they were very happy.

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru kʉrʉki-chi 'ú yʉʉpʉchi,
3s/S-be-that there-at-that rise-NOM that/S porcupine/S
In the mean time Porcupine having gotten up,

'áy-pʉgaa[-ni]: "'u-na-tarughwa-s chipi[-vaa-chi], 'ipʉ-m-av
say-REM-like there-LOC-climb-C climb-IRR-NOM WH-with-OWN
he thought: "I should climb up there using whatever thing (rope)

'uway-kyay-kya-na-av…"; 'uru-'ura tʉkuavi yáa'wa-vachi máa-pa yʉvʉpʉ
hang-PASS-ANT-REL-OWN that/O-be meat/O carry-BG there-DIR pine/G
I was hung with…" so carried the (buffalo-cow) meat to the top

kuvua-ma-tukhwa, 'u-vwaa 'ú-'uway[-vachi]; kh-'ura 'áy-vachi: "yʉvʉpʉ
tip-LOC-go there-at RED-hang-BG then-be say-BG pine
of the pine tree and hung it up there in bunches; then he said: "Grow,

nana-nʉ!" máy-vachi; 'urus-'ura nana-vachi, 'u-vwaa-na-'ura
grow-IMP say-BG that/S-be grow-BG there-at-LOC-be
pine!" he said; and it grew, right there

pa'atʉ tʉga-khwa-vachi.
tall/S become-go-BG
it became tall.

['ʉvʉs, 'uwas-'ura] 'u-vwaa-na kuvua-maku karʉ-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura
end-be 3s/s-be there-at-LOC tip-finish sit-REM 3s/s-be
Well, Porcupine was sitting there at the very tip (of the branch); and now

'u-vwaa-tukhwa mawisi-pʉga, pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u 'uwas, 'u-vwaa-tughwa
there-at-go appear-REM see-REM-3s 3s/s there-at-go
Sinawav arrived there, but Porcupine saw him as he was appearing back

pana-khwa mawisi-[khu]…
back-go arrive-SUB
on the other side…

Sinawavi, táa-'inia-kway náagha-pagha-y…
Sinawav/s regular-WH/O-MOD mate-go-IMM
Sinawav, as a matter of course, is used to mating on the run…

'uwas 'úu-pa kh-'ura pʊrʊ-i… 'uwas kh-'ura-'uru paghay-ku, 'uway
3s/s there-DIR then-be go-IMM 3s/s then-be-that walk-SUB 3s/G
he was going that way… so as he was walking, as Sinawav was walking,

Sinawavi, paghay-ku, saghwa-ri-tʉ-aagha-va-tʉ paghay-ku: "Sinawavi
Sinawav/G walk-SUB green-make-NOM-have-at-DIR walk-SUB sinawav/s
as he walking through the greenery there: "Sinawav has mated with his

pachʉ-av yogho-ghwa-tʉ!"['ay-pʉga]; 'uwas kh-'ura 'u-vwaa-tʉ
daughter-OWN fuck-ANT-NOM 3s/s then-be there-at-DIR
own daughter!" (said a voice in the brush); so Sinawav started

ta-ta'a-u-mi, kachu-'u-kway maay-wa; 'uwas-'ura matachi 'áy-vachi,
RED-kick-HAB NEG-3s-MOD see-NEG 3s/s-be tick/S say-BG
kicking (at the brush), but he couldn't see (the speaker); it was

saghwa-ri-tʉ-aagha-va pacha'a-qha-vachi: "Sinawavi pachʉ-av
green-make-DIR-have-at stick-ANT-BG Sinawav/s daugher-OWN
a tick (who spoke), he was stuck there in the greenery: "Sinawav has mated

yogho-ghwa-tʉ!" máy-u-miya-kway; "'íni-'u máy-vi matachi
fuck-ANT-NOM say-INC-go-MOD WH/s-3s say-NOM/O tick
with his own daughter!" he kept saying; "Whoever it is that is saying it

máy-kya-paa-pʉ!" máy-vachi 'uwas, 'u-vwaa-tʉ ta-ta'a-u-chi.
say-PL-IRR-NOM say-REM 3s/s there-at-DIR RED-kick-SUB
will be called tick!" said Sinawav, as he was kicking (the brush).

'ú-'uni-pagha-y kh-'ura 'uwa-va tʉgay-'wi, yʉʉpʉchi
RED-do-go-IMM then-be 3s/O-at approach-?? porcupine/G
Well Sinawav kept doing it (kicking) as he approached Porcupine, while

'uway 'u-vwaa-'uru wʉga-ma karʉ-khu; pina-khwa-'ura máy-pʉga:
3s/G there-at-that high-LOC sit-SUB follow-go-be say-REM
Porcupine was sitting way up there; finally he said:

"'áy-gwa!…" pʉsaghay-kwa-pʉga 'u-vwaa-tʉ… kachu-'u
INTJ search-go-REM there-at-DIR NEG-3s
"Hey!…" and he kept searching there… he didn't know

pʉchuchugwa-pʉa… 'urus pa'atʉ 'ura-pʉga… 'urus-'ura pa'atʉ
know-REM/NEG that/s tall be-REM that/s-be tall
(about Porcupine hiding up there)… that (pine) was tall… it was tall…

'ura-pʉga; pina-khwa-'ura-'uru 'uwas: "máa-pa kwávi,
be-REM follow-go-be-that 3s/S there-DIR lie/PL/IMP
so finally Porcupine said: "Lie down right there at the bottom!"

kanʉga-rugwa-kwa!" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u; "'aghaa-pa-'ura
foothill-go-go say-REM-CL-3s WH-DIR-be
he told Sinawav; "How did you get way up there?" Sinawav asked;

'uni-'a-miya-kya?" máy-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura: "táay, máa-pa kwávi,
do-??-go-ANT say-REM 3s/S-be HORT there-DIR lie/IMP
so Porcupine (said): "Go ahead, lie down there, so I can throw you…

mʉni-rugwa-paa-chi-n… 'ʊʊvʉ-chi-sapa…" máy-pʉga-'ʉra 'uwas; kh-'ura
2p/O-give-IRR-NOM-1s bone-DIM-MOD say-REM-be 3s/S then-be
some little bones…" he told him; and he threw him the bones that way,

'u-vwaa-tugwa-khwa 'ʊʊvʉ chawʉ'na-pʉga, tʉvwa, kuvua-ri-kya-tʉ
there-at-go-go bone/O throw-REM down point-make-PASS-NOM/O
down, having sharpened them to fine points…

'ura-vachi… 'uni-mi-na-'u 'uway yʉʉpʉchi.
be-BG do-HAB-REL-3s 3s/G porcupine/G
that's what Porcupine does.

'umʉ-'ura kwíimpi… Sinawavi pa'a-paqha-khwa-pʉga,
3p/O-be slaughter/IMM sinawav/O complete-kill-go-REM
So Porcupine slaughtered them… he completely killed Sinawav,

pachʉ-u-'a pa'a-qo-qo'oy-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura súu-yis piyaa-khwa-pʉga,
daughter-PL-3s complete-RED-slaughter 3s/S-be one-S remain-go-REM
and he killed his daughters too; only one remained,

'áapachi̲, 'ú-'ura 'ivi-pipi-nara-gha-chi̲ 'ura-'ay; 'uwa-khwa̲-pʉga
boy/S that/s-be [name] be-IMM jump-go-REM
a boy, his name was '*ivi-pipi-nara-gha-chi̲*;[3] he had jumped out of

'i-mi-tukhwa̲, kh-'ura 'u-vwaa-yis yagha-vʊrʊ-pʉga; kh-'ura 'uwayas
here-LOC-go then-be there-at-C cry-go-REM then-be 3s/O
the way, then kept crying; finally he asked Porcupine:

'áy-pʉay-agha: "'aghaa-pa-'ura tíi-mi?" "kach-aqh-'ura 'úu-pa
say-REM-CL WH-DIR-be high-HAB NEG-it-be there-DIR
"Which way do you go up there?" "Why don't you come up

tʉna-kwa̲ wi-wiya[-vi] nawaa-'a, púupa chipi-mi-na-n?" máy-pʉga-s
climb-go RED-mud/G track-?? way climb-HAB-REL-1s say-REM-C
following the muddy tracks, the way I climbed?" said Porcupine;

'ú yʉʉpʉchi̲; 'uwas 'úu-pa tíi-pʉga, 'áa… 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲;
that/s porcupine/s 3s/s there-DIR high-REM INTJ 3s/O-at-go
so the boy went up that way, 'áa… towards Porcupine; but on the way

tʉgʉy-naru'a̲-khwa̲-pʉga, píiya-kʉ tʉgʉy-naru'a̲-khwa̲-pʉga,
hunger-buy-go-REM strongly-EM hunger-buy-go-REM
he became hungry, he became very hungry, he developed

tʉkua-rʉgʉy-naru'a̲-khwa̲-pʉga; 'uwas tʉkuavi ['u-vwaa tíi]
meat-hunger-buy-go-REM 3s/s meat/O there-at high
a crave for meat; Porcupine had put the meat

yuna-qha-pʉga.
put-ANT-REM
way up there.

pina-khwa̲-'ura… tʉkua-rʉgʉy-naru'a̲-khwa̲-pʉga, 'ú-vway
follow-go-be meat-hunger-buy-go-REM there-at
Then later… the boy craved meat so much, Porcupine kept

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3. The significance of the name is not clear. '*ivi-chi̲* is 'stick', *hara-'a-* is 'resemble'. *pipi-* may mean 'type', 'kind'.

magha-khwa-pʉgay-'u, sʉpʉ-'u 'avatʉ tʉ-tʉgay-khwa-pʉga;
feed-go-REM-3s stomach-3s big RED-become-go-REM
feeding him, his stomach kept growing bigger;

"'áy… kwicha-u-paa-ni-aa-n?" 'áy-pʉga-s 'uwas; "'áy,
say defecate-INC-IRR-FUT-Q-1s?" say-REM-C 3s/S say
"Say… may I relieve myself?" he asked; "Hey,

ma-vaa-tugwa-nʉ-kʉ-kway kwicha-ghwa-mi 'uru branchi-vaa-tukhwa";
there-at-go-1s-EMPH-MOD defecate-go-HAB that/O branch/O-at-go
I always relieve myself way out over there up that branch" (said Porcupine);

branchi-aagha-kwa-kʉ… kh-lura 'úu-pa-'u kwáa-ku, ['uwas-'ura]: "'áy,
branch/O-have-go-EM then-be there-DIR-3s run-SUB 3s/S-be say
and indeed there was a branch there… so as the boy was running up there,

mana-khwa-paa-chi-ukh mana-khwa-paa-chi-ukh!" karʉ-pagha-pʉ-chi-gya
leave-go-IRR-NOM-it leave-go-IRR-NOM-it!" sit-go-NOM-NOM-PAR
Porcupine said: "Hey, move further out, move further out!" so the boy kept

'uwas; "toghoy, pigya-guvuaa-va tugwa-khwa!" 'áy-pʉga ['uwas],
3s/s good very-tip-at go-go!" said-REM 3s/S
crawling further out; "Good, go on to the very edge!" said Porcupine,

"máa-pa-tukhwa!" 'áy-pʉga.
there-DIR-go say-REM
"that-a-way!" he said.

'uwas-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-'u tʉga-'wi-khu, 'uwas-'uru yʉʉpʉchi
3s/S-be-it the-at-3s reach-??-SUB 3s/S-that porcupine
Now when the boy reached the tip of the branch, Porcupine

mani-vachi-s, yʉʉpʉchi, 'áaa… 'í-va yáakwi-vachi, 'ú
do.like-BG-C porcupine/S INT here-at sink-BG that/S
did like this (gesture, shaking the branch), 'áaa… right there

'áapachi, wi'i-vachi-'u kwáa-vachi, sʉpʉ-'u tʊʊ-vagha-pachi
boy/S fall-BG-3s run-BG stomach-3s rumble-go-BG
the boy was dislodged and fell fast, and his stomach rumbled (burst)

yúaa-va-tʉ-'u kwípa-khu.
plain-at-DIR-3s hit-SUB
as he hit the flat ground.

máy-kya-ta-miya-na-ukh ˈuru, pʉsariniya-qha̲-qa ˈúmʉ̲,
say-PL-PASS-HAB-REL-it that/O story.tell-PL-ANT 3p/S
This is what they used to say, they told the story,

wíi-núuchi-u-gwapʉ̲; máy-kya-nʉ-s-ˈuru, ˈú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa̲, ˈʉvʉs.
old-person-PL-DEFUN/S say-ANT-1S-C-that there-at-go-MOD end.
the long-gone Old People; I have spoken, that's as far as it goes, that's it.

TEXT 12

Porcupine tricks Coyote

told by: Charlie Mack (Uintah)
date collected: August-September, 1909
collected by: Edward Sapir[1]
re-transcribed by: D. Remington, T. Givón

yʉʉpʉchi̱ 'úu-pa-pʉga, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kuchu-mʉ̱ 'úu-pa
purcupine there-DIR-REM then-at-it-be Buffalo-PL there-pass
Porcupine was going about that-a-way, and the Buffalo were passing

pʊrʊ-pʉga; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'úu-pa-pʉga, 'i-na-tʉ wʉgaa-ma̱;
go/PL-REM 3s/s there-at-it there-DIR-REM here-LOC-DIR uphill-LOC
that-a-way too; so he was going that way too, right there up the hill; then

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura suwa-qha-pʉga, kwichapʉ̱-'uru 'ú-vwaa karʉ-pʉga;
there-at-it-be gorge-PL-REM dung feces/S-that there-LOC sit-REM
(the buffalo) having grazed there, there was (fresh) buffalo-dung sitting there;

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'úu-pa-kwa-pʉga yʉʉpʉchi̱;
3s/s there-at-it there-DIR-go-REM porcupine/s
so Porcupine went that way, he went that-a-way;

'úu-pa-kwa-pʉga-vachi̱; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kwichapʉ̱-'uru karʉ-pʉga-vachi̱;
there-pass-go-REM-CL there-at-it-be feces-that sit-REM-CL
then there was (another) piece of buffalo-dung sitting there;

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh tʉvwa-pʉgay-kʉ̱-'u, 'ú-vway-aqh 'úu-pa-pʉga-vachi̱.
3s/s there-at-it descend-REM-SUB-3s there-at-be there-pass-REM-CL
so descending there, he kept moving in that direction.

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1. This Uintah version of the story, recorded by Sapir in 1909 (Sapir 1930), again switches the Sinawav of the So. Ute version to Coyote. In the conversion from the Uintah to the So. Ute dialect, Douglas Remington's help is gratefully acknowledged.

'ú-vwa-tʉ-'ura tʉvwa-nạ-pʉga-vachị;
there-LOC-DIR-be descend-HAB-REM-CONC
Well Porcupine kept going down there (following the buffalo dung);

"'áavụ-amụ 'íi-pa pərọ-i" may-pʉga-'ura [kwichapụ 'úrụ],
now-3p here-DIR walk/PL-IMM say-REM-be feces/s that/s
"They've just passed that way" the dung said,

"kucu-mụ 'umụ" [máy-pʉga] kwichapụ 'urụ; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
buffalo-PL/s the/s say-REM feces/s the/s 3s/s there-at-it
"the buffalos" said the dung; so Porcupine

'úu-pa-pʉga-vachị.
there-pass-REM-CONC
went on that way.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura nawa-amụ ['ura-pʉga], 'uwas 'úu-pa-pʉga-vachị;
then-at-it-be track-3p be-REM 3s/s there-DIR-REM-CL
Well then there were their tracks, so he followed that way;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura chọ-chə'wa-kwa-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vwaa-tʉ
there-at-it-be RED-gather-go-REM 3s/s there-at-DIR
now he was going and picking up (the dung) along the way, going down

tʉvwa-kwa-pʉga; "'áavụ-amụ 'i-vee pərə-kwa" may-pʉga 'urụ;
descend-go-REM now-3p here-at walk/PL-PERF say-REM that/s
that-a-way; "They have just passed through here" it (the dung) said;

'uwas-'ura 'úu-pa-pʉga.
he-be there-pass-REM
so he followed that way.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'ava'nạ-tʉ-mụ 'ura-qa-pʉga, 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh
thereat-it-be many-NOM-PL be-PL-REM 3p/s there-at-it
Then there were many (buffalos) there, lying across the river;

kwée-tukhwạ kwavi-pʉga; ['uwas-'ura] "nə́ʊghwa-n" máy-pʉga,
across-go lie/PL-REM 3s/s-be carry/IMP-1s say-REM
so (Porcupine) asked (one cow): "Will you carry me (across)" he said,

"ya'achi-n nʉ́-aa?" "kách" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
fm.kin-1s 1s-Q NEG say-REM-be 3s/s 3s/s there-at-it
"will you, my female in-law?"; "No" she said; so he asked (another one):

máy-pʉga-vachi̲: “nʉ́-aa” may-pʉga-'ura, “chʊ'wa-y-in?”
say-REM-BG 1s-Q say-REM-be pick.up-IMM-1s
“Will you please pick me up?”

“kách” may-pʉga 'uwas, may-a-na̲ 'áy-kh̲ 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh,
NEG say-REM 3s/s say-G-REL say-IMM 3s/s there-it-be
“No” she said, that’s what she said,

“kách” máy-pʉga-vachi̲.
NEG say-REM-BG
“no” she said.

'umʉs-'ura kuchu-mu̲ 'ʉ́ʉ-pa'a-manu-ni tʉvwa[-qha]-pʉga,
3p/s-be buffalo-PL real-complete-all-s descend-PL-REM
Well all those buffalos have been going down (crossing the river), only

súuyis-'ura piya-'way-kwa-pʉga, 'ú-'ura 'átʉ-gúaava-amu̲ 'ura-pʉga;
one/s-be remain-??-go-REM 3s/s-be good-side-their be-REM
one of them remained (on the near bank), she was the best looking of them;

'uwas [-'ura]: “nʊ́ʊghwa-n” máy-pʉga; “nʉ́-aa? máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas;
3s/s-be carry/IMP-1s say-REM 1s-Q say-REM-be 3s/s
so porcupine (said): “Carry me across the river!” he said; “Who, me?” said the

“'úvway” máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas yʉʉpʉchi̲ 'u; 'uwas-'ura
alright say-REM-be 3s/s porcupine/s the/s 3s/s-be
buffalo-cow; “Yes” said Porcupine; so she went

['uwa-vaa-]-chugwa-pʉga, 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ pá-aghaa-va
3s/O-at-go-REM 3s/O-at-go water-have-at
toward him, approaching him across

chivu-khwa̲-pʉga: “nʉ́-vaa-na̲-nʉ karʉ-'wi-aa?” máy-pʉga-'ura
approach-go-REM me-at-LOC-IMP sit-??-Q say-REM-be
the water: “Will you sit on top of me?” she offered;

'uwas; ['uwas-'ura] 'ú-vway-aqh “kach” máy-pʉga, “nʊ́ʊghwa-yin”
3s/s 3s/s-be there-at-it NEG say-REM carry-1s
so he (said): “No” he said, “you carry me (inside you)” he said,

máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, “pá-vaa-tukhwa̲ wi'i-vʉ chugwa-vaa-na̲
say-REM-be 3s/s water-at-go fall-NOM go-IRR-SUB
“(otherwise) I’m afraid I’ll fall in the water while going (across)”

'iyavagha-yi-n"; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh may-pʉgaa-ni: "nari-aa-va
fear-IMM-1s 3s/s there-at-it say-REM-like gap-G-at
So then the Buffalo Cow said: "Won't you then sit in the gap

karʉ-'wi-aa?" máy-pʉga; 'uwas[-'ura] 'u-vway-aqh: "kách"
sit-??-Q say-REM 3s/s-be there-at-it NEG
(between my horns)?" So he (said): "No"

máy-pʉga-vachi̲, "wi'i-vʉ chugwa-vaa-na̲ iyavagha-yi-n"
say-REM-BG fall-NOM go-IRR-SUB fear-IMM-1s
he said, "I'm afraid I'll fall in the water while going (across)"

máy-pʉga-vachi̲; 'ú-vway-aqh 'uwas pa'a-manu-khu̲-tʉ-vachi̲-'u
say-REM-BG there-at-it 3s/s complete-all-O-NOM/O-BG-3s
he said; so she went through all her (body parts) the same way

tʉpʉyi-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh máy-pʉga-vachi̲, kuchu̲ 'u:
elapse-REM 3s/s-be there-at-it say-REM-BG buffalo/s the/s
(offering them to him); then finally she said, the buffalo did:

"'úmu̲-gʉ-s núnay mʊvʊt'ʊ-pa karʉ-'wi-aa-vaa-tu̲?" "kách" máy-pʉga-'ura
2s/s-EM-C 1s/G nose-DIR sit-??-??-IRR-NOM no say-REM-be
"Why don't you sit on (in?) my nose then?" "No" said

'uwas yʉʉpʉchi̲ 'u, "'iyavagha-y-in" máy-pʉga, "pá-vaa-tugwa-n
3s/s porcupine/s the/s fear-IMM-1s say-REM water-LOC-go-1s
Porcupine, "I'm afraid" he said, "of falling in the water,

wi'i-vʉ chugwa-vaa-n sʊ'a-khay-ku̲-mu̲"; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh:
fall-NOM go-IRR-1s breath-ANT-SUB-2s 3s/s there-at-it
when you breath (out)"; so Buffalo-Cow then (said):

"nʉ́pa'a-togho-[naaghu̲] 'úvway? 'úvway?" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas;
1s-complete-right-in alright alright say-REM-be 1s/s
"How about if you go completely inside me, alright? Alright?" she said;

"'agha-ni-'ura?" "nʉ́-pa[-naaghu̲-tux] yʉga-vaa-ni, manavi-aa-mʉ-tʉ-s
WH-do-be 1s-DIR-in-go enter-IRR-FUT quill-G-2s-NOM/O-C
"But how ?" (he asked); "You will enter me, (but) I'm afraid

'iyavagha-y"; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh: "kách" máy-pʉga,
fear-IMM 3s/s there-at-it NEG say-REM
of your quills" (she said); so Porcupine (said): "No" he said,

"nʉ́-'ara mani-u-vaa-tu̲, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kach-ʉm
1s-be do.like-??-IRR-NOM there-at-it-be NEG-2s
"if I were to do it, I would not

paqha-khwa̲-vwaa-wa-tʉ̲”; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh: “'í-va̲,
kill-go-IRR-NEG-NOM 3s/s there-at-it here-at
kill you”; so then she (said): “How about right here on

'ʊaavi[-naagha̲-aa]?” uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'uwa-naagha̲-[chukhwa̲] yʉga-pʉga.
back/O-in-Q 3s/s there-at-it 3s/O-in-go enter-REM
my back (in my rectum) then?” so he entered her (rectum).

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh kuchu̲ 'u pagha-'ni-kwa-pʉga
she then buffalo the/s go-INT-go-REM
Now Buffalo-Cow started walking down

pá-vawi-kwa-tukhwa̲ 'uru; 'uwas “'ú-vway-aqh?” tʉvʉy-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas
water-descend-go-to that/O 3s/s there-at-it ask-REM-3s 3s/s
to the water; so Porcupine asked her: “Well, then?” so she

'úvwayakh: “Kách, páa-tarugwa-vaa-chi-rami̲ 'ani-kya”; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
there-at-it NEG water-climb-IRR-NOM-2d do-ANT 3s/s there-at-it
(said): “No, we still have to climb out of the water”;

máy-pʉga-vachi̲, tʉvʉy-pʉga-vachi̲-'u; “'áavʉ-chaa-rami̲ pá-guaa-va
say-REM-BG ask-REM-EM-her now-INC-2d water-edge-at
later on he asked her again; “We are just now arriving at the edge of the water”

tʉga-'wi-y” máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh pini-tukhwa̲
arrive-??-IMM say-REM-be 3s/s 3s/s there-at-it out-go
she said; finally she climbed back out (of the water and said):

chipi-pʉga; “'ʉvʉs, 'áavʉ̲ cipi, 'áaavʉ̲” [máy-puga]; “kách”
climb.out-REM end now climb/IMP now say-REM NEG
“Finished, now climb out, now” she said; “No”

máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, “ma-vaa-tugwa, miya-tukhwa̲”; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
say-REM-be 3s/s there-at-go far-go 3s/s there-at-it
said Porcupine, “over there, further on”; so Buffalo-Cow

miya-tugwa wi'i-pʉga: “'ʉvʉs, 'áaavʉ̲” máy-pʉga; 'uwas
far-go fall-REM end now say-REM 3s/s
walked further on: “OK, now” she said; so right there (inside her)

'ú-vway mugu-aa-'u 'uru kwasi-m-av kwipa-pʉga; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
there-at heart-G-3s the/O tail-INSTR-OWN hit-REM 3s/s there-at-it
he hit her heart with his tail; and she then kept scurrying on

pʊnichi-na-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ kwipa-pichʉ-khwa-pʉga.
??-HAB-REM he-be there-LOC-to hit-come-go-REM
(being mortally hurt); (finally) he hit her (real hard) that way.

'úmʉ 'ú-vway-aqh kuchu-mʉ 'umʉ 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa
3p/s there-at-it buffalo-PL 3p/s 3s/s-at-go
Now the (other) buffalos went to her,

'uni-khwa-pʉga, 'ú-vway-aqh 'áa-kʉ-kúkwi-pʉgay-'u,
do-go-REM there-at-it horn-RED-shoot-REM-3s
then they and gored her with their horns,

'áa-kʉ-kúkwi-pʉgay-'u 'ú-vwaa-tukhwa; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
horn-RED-shoot-REM-him there-LOC-to 3s/s there-at-it
they gored her (open) right there; then Porcupine

tʉvwa-tugwa-pʉga pa'a-manu-khʉ-pʉ, 'uwas-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh-'u
descend-go-REM complete-all-O-NOM 3s/s-be there-at-it
came out (of the buffalo-cow's innards),

tavi-pʉga yʉʉpʉchi 'u; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh pivi-mi-chukhwa
step-REM porcupine/s 3s/s 3s/s there-at-it cling-LOC-go
Porcupine stepped out; he had been sitting inside her there clinging

'ʊʊ-a-y[-'u] 'ú-naagha karʉ[-qa]-pʉga; 'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh kachu-'u
bone-G-O-3s there-in sit-ANT-REM 3p/s there-at-it NEG-3s
to her bones; so the buffalos

[pa]-pákha-[qa-]-pʉa[y-'u].
RED-kill-PL-REM/NEG-3s
Didn't kill him.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh tavi-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh wʉnʉ-pʉga,
3s/s there-at-it step-REM 3s/s there-at-it stand-REM
So Porcupine stepped out and stood there and sang:

káa-pʉga: "'ipʉ-m-sʉ-n tʉka-'ini-vaa-ni?" káa-y 'uru máy-pʉga;
sing-REM WH-INST-C-1s eat-make-IRR-FUT sing-IMM that/O say-REM
"What shall I cook (her) with?" he said, singing;

páa 'uru nʉkwi-pʉga chaghachi-mana-kwa, Yoghovʉchi-'ura 'u-vwaa
water/s the/s run-REM near-from-go, Coyote/s-be there-at
the water was running near by, and Coyote happened to be wandering about

pagha-'ni-pʉga, nʉka-qha-pʉga 'ú-vway-aqh: "'ipʉ-m-sʉ-n
go-INT-REM hear-ANT-REM there-at-it WH-INST-C-1s
there and he heard (what Porcupine had said): "What shall I cook

tʉka-'ini-vee-ni?" máy-[kya]-pʉga-'ura; 'uwas nʉka-kha-pʉgay-'u,
eat-make-IRR-FUT say-ANT-REM-be 3s/s hear-ANT-REM-him
her with?" that's what Porcupine had said; and he had heard him,

Yoghovʉchi̲ 'u, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh 'u-vwaa tʉgay-pʉga;
Coyote/s the/s he3s/s there-at-it there-at approach-REM
Coyote did, so he approach that way;

'uwas 'u-vway-aqh yʉʉpʉchi̲ 'ú-vwaa pagha-'ni-pʉga; 'uwas
he there-at-it porcupine/s there-at go-INT-REM 3s/s
and Porcupine was walking about there; so

'ú-vway-aqh tʉvʉy-pʉgay-'u: "'ʉ́mʉ̲ ['ipʉ] 'ani-'ay-kya?" máy-pʉga;
there-at-it ask-REM-him 2s/s WH/O do-say-ANT say-REM
Coyote asked him: "What did you just say?" he said;

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh "kachi-n 'ani-'ay-wa," 'ipʉ-m-sʉ-n si'aavʉ
3s/s there-at-it NEG-1s do-say-NEG WH-with-C-1s bark/O
so Porcupine (said): "I didn't say that! What shall I

sugwi-vee-ni?" máy-kya-na-n-kʉ! 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh "kách"
pick.up-IRR-FUT say-ANT-REL-1s-EM 3s/s there-at-it NEG
pick up the (strip of) bark with? is what I said!" But Coyote (said): "No"

máy-pʉga, "'ipʉ-m-sʉ-n tʉka-'ini-vaa-ni?" máy-kya-na̲-kʉ 'ʉmʉ̲!
say-REM WH-with-C-1s eat-make-IRR-FUT say-ANT-REL-EM 2s/s
he said, "What shall I cook it with? is what you said!

'átʉ-nʉka-khay-kʉ-na̲ nʉ-kʉ!"
well-hear-ANT-EM-REL 1s-EM
That's what I surely heard!"[2]

'ú-vway-chi̲ 'u-vwa-amʉ̲ máy-pʉga, nána-wʉ-chʉ-amʉ̲ máy-pʉga:
there-LOC-NOM there-at-3p say-REM REC-??-DIR-3p say-REM
So they kept talking like that right there, they kep telling each other:

"kách 'ini-kwa-mʉ̲ máy-wa!" 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh yʉʉpʉchi̲: "'úvway"
NEG WH/O-MOD-2s say-NEG 3s/s there-at-it porcupine/s alright
"No, you didn't say whatever!" Finally Porcupine (said): "Alright"

máy-pʉga, "nʉ́-gʉ ma-vaa-tukhwa̲ kuchu-n paqha-y"
say-REM 1s-EM there-at-go buffalo/O-1s kill-IMM
he said, "I have killed a buffalo right there"

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2. The argument between Porcupine and Coyote boils down to Porcupine trying to hide the fact that he had a dead buffalo-cow carcass right there, thus trying – it turns out in vain – to keep Coyote from snatching it.

máy-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh 'uwas Yoghovʉchi̲: "'úvway, 'atachi-n" máy-gya;
say-REM there-at-it 3s/s Coyote alright kin-1s say-PAR
he said; so Coyote told him: "Alright, my kinsman" he said;

'umʉs 'ú-vway-aqh 'uwa-vaa-tugwa-amʉ̲, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
3p/s there-at-it 3s/O-at-go-3p 3s/s there-at-it
So the two of them went over to the dead buffalo-cow,

máy-pʉga: "máa-va'aghā̲ ['avi]; 'uwa-va'aghā̲ wáa'wi̲-[vaa]-tʉ̲,
say-REM there-over lie/IMM 3a/O-over jump-IRR-REL
and Coyote said: "Over there she is lying; the one who (can) jump over her

tʉka-'ini-vaa-ni-'a"; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh qhā̲qharʉ̲-pʉga,
eat-make-IRR-FUT-3s 3s/s there-at-it run-REM
will cook (and eat) her"; so Coyote ran

'uwa-va'aghā̲ kwée-'iya-va-chukhwā̲ wáa'wi̲-pʉga; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
3s/O-over across-here-at-go jump-REM 3s/s then
and jumped over her all the way to the other side;

yʉʉpʉchi̲ 'u togho-khwa-pʉga, wáa'wi̲-kwa-pʉga-'ura,
porcupine/s the/s right-go-REM jump-go-REM-be
then Porcupine (tried to) jump straight that way,

'i-vee-tugwa-s 'awatapʉ-'u pa'a-tʉvwa-chi-'u wáa'wi̲-kwa-pʉga.
here-at-go-C rib/O-3s complete-down-NOM-3s jump-go-REM
but he jumped (and landed) right down there on her ribs.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh yoghovʉchi̲ 'u tʉka-'ini-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas
3s/s there-at-t coyote/s the/s eat-make-REM-3s 3s/s
So Coyote then (butchered and) cooked her (the buffalo-cow);

'ú-vway-aqh Yoghovʉchi̲ pá-aghaa-va-tukhwā̲ kwichapʉ pí'i'ā̲-pʉga,
there-at-it Coyote/s water-have-at-go feces/O gather-REM
then he gathered (and dumped) feces into the cooking water

tʉka-'ini-pʉga-vachi̲-'u 'ú-vway-aqh; 'ú-vway-aqh 'uni-chi̲,
eat-make-REM-BG-3s there-at-it there-at-it do-SUB
and cooked her (in that foul water); then having done that,

sapʉvʉ-aa-'u ta-chipi-kwa[-ti]-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh: "mana-kwa
innards-G-3s foot-exit-go-CAUS-REM 3s/s there-at-it leave-go
he pulled out her innards with his paw, then he said

sapʉvʉ-aa-'u pa-rʉgi-kway-aqh, kách-'uru ma-ma-a-tʉ
innards-G-3s water-wash-go-it NEG-that/O RED-that-G-NOM/O
"Come over and wash it (her innards) in water,

tʉka-[vaa]ni-wa-pʉ-ay" [máy-pʉga]; 'uwas 'u-vway-aqh
eat-IRR-FUT-NEG-NOM-?? say-REM 3s/s there-at-it
but don't eat any of it" he said; so Porcupine

yáa'wa̲-kwa-pʉgay-ukh pá-vaa-tukhwa̲ 'uru, 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲
carry-go-REM-it water-at-go the/O there-at-go
carried it (the innards) to the water and

pa-rʉgi-pʉga; 'uru-aa-tʉ̲ 'ú-vway-aqh qopoqhi̲-pʉga, míipʉchi̲
water-wash-REM that/O-G-NOM/S there-at-it break-REM little/s
washed it there; then part of it broke off,

yʉuvi̲; 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh kʉ'i-pʉgay-ku, tʉ-tʉka-pʉgay-ku;
fat/s3 s/s there-at-it bite-REM-it RED-eat-REM-it
a little bit of fat; so Porcupine bit (into) it and ate pieces of it; then

'uwa-chaghachi-va̲ 'ana-vagha-pʉga: "ma-ma-[aa] tʉka-cha-'u, tʉ-tʉka̲!"
3s/O-near-at there-walk-REM RED-that-G eat-INC-3s RED-eat
someone walking near there (said): "He's beginning to eat, eating bits of it!"

máy-pʉga, ka-núu-'wa-tʉ̲ ['u-]vwaa-tʉ̲.
say REM NEG-person-have/NEG-NOM there-at-NOM
it said, (though) there was nobody there.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh sʉri'aa-pʉga, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh
3s/s there-at-it fear-REM 3s/s there-at-it
Well Porcupine got really scared, and Coyote

'uwa[-vaa]-chugwa-pʉga: "máy-tʉ-na-kway-ku kach-'uru ma-ma-[aa]-tʉ
3s/O-at-go-REM say-NOM-REL-MOD-it NEG-that/O RED-that-G-NOM/O
went over to him: "What I told you was not to eat any of that thing!"

tʉka-[vaa]-ni-wa-pʉa-y!" 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-s-'u 'ivi-tʉna-pʉgay-'u, 'uwas
eat-[IRR]-FUT-NEG-NOM/NEG-O there-go-CONJ-he stick-hit-REM-him 3s/s
(he told Porcupine); so Coyote came over to Porcupine and hit him

'ú-vway-aqh yʉʉpʉchi uway paqha-pʉgay-'u, naway-kʉ̲
there-at-it porcupine/O 3s/O kill-REM-3s both-O
right there with a stick, and he killed Porcupine, he killed both of them

pakha-pʉgay-amu̱; Yoghovʉchi̱ págha̱-kwa-pʉga.
kill-REM-3p Coyote /s go-go-REM
(Porcupine and Buffalo-Cow); then Coyote took off.

uwas 'ú-vway-aqh sə'a-pʉ-ucha-pʉga; "yʉvʉpu̱ na̱-nana-kwa-nʉ!"
3s/s there-at-it breath-??-INC-REM pine/s RED-grow-go-IMP
Now Porcupine started breaking again: "Red pine, grow!"

máy-pʉga; yʉvʉpu̱ nana-kwa-pʉga; tʉkuavi 'uru 'u-ma-tukhwa̱ yʉvʉpʉ
say-REM pine/s grow-go-REM meat/O the/O there-LOC-go pine/O
he called; and the pine grew; so Porcupine took all the meat and

'uru[-vaa-na̱] cha-chawʉ'na-pʉga manu-khu̱-'uru; 'urus 'ú-vway-aqh
the/O[-at-LOC] RED-throw-REM all-O-that/O that/s there-at-it
threw it (piece-by-piece) up on the pine tree; and the pine indeed grew tall,

yʉvʉpu̱ 'uru̱ nana-kwa-pʉga, 'urus ú-vway-aqh ma-vaa-tʉ
pine/s the/s grow-go-REM that/s there-at-it there-at-DIR
and all that meat (Porcupine) had cooked (was now hanging)

yʉvʉpʉ-ma̱ 'ini-kya-pʉga-[na̱] tʉkuavi̱ 'uru̱; yʉʉpʉchi̱ 'u-ma
pine-on make-PERF-REM-REL meat/s the/s porcupine there-LOC
way up there on the pine, the meat; and Porcupine was

karʉ-pʉga, yʉvʉpʉ-ma̱ manu-ni tʉkuavi̱ 'uru̱.
sit-REM pine-LOC all-s meat/s the/s
sitting up there in the pine (with) all that meat.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh Yoghovʉchi̱ 'u píchʉ-ghwaa-pʉga kani-vaa-av
3s/s there-at-t Coyote/s the/s come-go-REM house-at-his
In the meantime Coyote has come back home

'uru, pʉsari-niya-pʉga: "kuchu-n-a nʉ́-kʉ paqha-y" máy-pʉga,
the/O story.tell-REM buffalo-1s-?? I-EMPH kill-IMM say-REM
and told (everybody) the story: "I have killed a buffalo" he bragged,

"yʉʉpʉchi-wa nʉ́-kʉ paqha-yi-s nʉ" máy-pʉgay-amu̱; "'úvway!"
porcupine/O-and 1s/S-EM kill-IMM-C 1s/s tell-REM-3p alright
"I've killed a porcupine too" he told them; "Alright!"

máy-kya-pʉga; tuaci-u-wa manu-ni 'ú-vway-aqh 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̱
say-PL-REM child-PL-with all-s there-at-it there-at-go
they said; and with his children they all milled around

ˈuni-ˈni-kya-pʉga; ˈu-vwaa waghay-kya-pʉga, ka-ˈiya-na-pʉa;
do-INT-PL-REM there-at enter/PL-ANT-REM NEG-here-LOC-REM/NEG
there; they went in there (under the pine), but there was nothing there;

ˈumʉs ˈú-vway-aqh waghay-kya-pʉga.
3p/s there-at-it enter/PL-ANT-REM
they had all come in there (in vain).

pina-tuachi̲-ˈu pʉnikya-pʉga; ˈuwas ˈú-vway-aqh yʉʉpʉchi̲ ˈu:
last-child-3s see-REM 3s/s there-at-it porcupine/s the/s
At long last (Coyote's) youngest boy saw (Porcupine up the tree); now

"tʉna-kwa-tíi-aa pʉsagha-n pʉnikya-gupʉ̲!" máy-pʉgay-ni yʉʉpʉchi̲
hunt-go-high-Q search-1s see-SUBJUN say-REM-like porcupine/s
Porcupine (thought): "They might search up there and see me!" he thought,

ˈu; ˈuwas ˈú-vway-aqh pʉnikya-pʉgay-ˈu: "ˈúuu!" máy-pʉga,
the/s 3s/s there-at-t see-REM-3s INTJ say-REM
Porcupine did; then the boy saw him: " ˈúuu!" he called and

tʉniya-pʉga; ˈumʉs ˈú-vway-aqh pʉ-vʉni̲kya-qha-pʉga,
point-REM 3p/s there-at-it RED-see-PL-REM
pointed (at Porcupine); so then the rest of them saw (him too),

yʉʉpʉchi̲ ma-vaa-tíi yʉvʉpʉ-ma̲, tʉkuavi-ma-yis.
porcupine/s there-at-up pine-LOC meat/OBJ-with-C
Porcupine up there on the pine-tree, with the meat.

ˈuwas ˈú-vway-aqh Yoghovʉchi̲ ˈu: "ma-ma-tíi pana-kwa
3s/s there-at-it Coyote/s the/s there-LOC-high back-go
So then Coyote said: "Why don't you throw [some of that meat]

wʉnay chaqhachi-u-aa-mʉ mamʉ-rukhwa̲"; "ˈúvway" máy-pʉga
throw/IMP yngr.bro-PL-G-2s/O 3p/O-to alright say-REM
from up there to your little brothers?" "OK" said Porcupine,

yʉʉpʉchi̲ ˈu, "mʉni-gʉ-s manu-ni-aqh ma-ma chaˈa-qha-vaa-ni,
porcupine/s the/s 2p-EM-C all-S-it-it there-LOC catch-PL-IRR-FUT
"you all (stand there ready) and catch (the meat), and the wiggly

manayˈwa-rʉ-s mʉni kʉmaa-va mʉni-vaa-chugwa-vaa-ni-amʉ"; "ˈíi-va̲
move-ADJ-C 2p/O other-at 2p/O-at-go-IRR-FUT-2p here-at
one (the little boy) should move away from the rest of you";

'ɵɵvi ma-ma ca'a-qa-vaa-ku" Yoghovʉchi̱ 'u máy-pʉga[-amu̱]; bone/O there-LOC catch-PL-IRR-COMP Coyote/s the/s say-REM "Here, get ready to catch the bones!" Coyote told them; "Now (throw) down

"kurachi-vi-sapa̱-'u pana-khwa!" 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh wʉna-pʉgay-ku, neck-NOM/O-MOD-3s back-go/IMP; 3s/s there-at-it throw-REM-it the neck bone this way!" (he told Porcupine); So Porcupine threw it

pana-kway, pa'a-manu-khu̱-tʉ̱-amʉ̱ qo-qo'ay-pʉga kuraavi̱ 'uru̱. return-go complete-all-O-NOM-3p RED-slaughter-REM neck/s the/s back down (at them) and the neck bone killed all of them.

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh pina-kwa-tʉ-aa-amʉ tʉka-ti-y 3s/s there-at-it follow-go-NOM-PART-3s/O eat-CAUS-IMM Now Porcupine made the last of them (the boy) eat that

'uru kwichapʉ-ga-y, 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh kwichapʉ-a magha-pʉgay-'u; that/O feces/O-have-O 3s/s there-at-it feces-O feed-REM-him stuff that had feces in it, he fed the feces to him;

'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh pɵnɵ'a-pʉga, sapʉ-'u 'úru̱ pɵrɵ'na-pʉga; 3s/s there-at-it gorge-REM stomach-3s the/s swell-REM so the boy then gorged himself, and his stomach became swollen;

"kwichapʉ̱-aa?" 'uway may-pʉga 'uwas yʉʉpʉchi̱ 'u… feces-Q 3s/O say-REM 3s/s Porcupine/s the/s "Is it feces?" (he asked); so Porcupine told him…

[There is a missing segment here about Porcupine telling the boy to climb up the pine-tree & go further out on a limb; see (11) above]

'uwas 'úu-pa pághą̱-kwa-pʉga 'áapachi̱ 'u; "'i-vee-tugwa-aa?" 3s/s there-DIR go-go-REM boy/s the/s here-at-go-Q Now the boy took off (up the pine-tree limb): "This far?" (he asked);

"Kách, mana-khwa-vaa-tukhwą̱"; ['uru] tʉka-chaa-na̱-'ara kwana-rʉ̱ NEG leave-go-at-go that/O eat-INC-REL-be smell-ADJ "No, (go) further out" (Porcupine told him); what the boy had eaten indeed

kwichapʉ; "kwicha-khwa-vaa-ni!" máy-pʉga. feces/G defecate-go-IRR-FUT say-REM smelled of feces; "I need to defecate!" said the boy.

'uwas-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh yʉʉpʉchi̱ 'u na'ay'a̱-pʉga, 'ú-vway-aqh he-be then porcupine/s the/s angry-REM there-at-it So then Porcupine got real mad,

['ivichi 'uru] ta-sʉnʉga-ti-pʉgay-ku, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas
limb/O the/O foot-shake-CAUS-REM-it there-at-it-be 3s/s
and kick-shook the limb (real hard), and the boy fell

'u-na-pʉa-'u wi'i-pichʉ-kwa-pʉga; 'íi-pa̲ 'uru-kwa-pʉga;
there-LOC-??-3s fall-come-go-REM here-DIR that-go-REM
all the way down; he went (fell) right through there;

'uru-sapa̲-aqh pʉsariniya-na̲.
that-MOD-it story.tell-REL
that's the story they tell.

TEXT 13

Sinawav racing the birds and betting

told by: Julius Cloud
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Neil Cloud
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

wíitʉs 'ura-na-pʉga-vachi̲… 'úmʉ̲-'uru pa'avi-u núuchi-u
past be-HAB-REM-BG 3p/s-that insect-PL human-PL
'It was long time ago… when the insects were (still)

'ura[-qa]-pachi̲-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh-kʉ̲-tʉ-mʉ̲… 'ichay nʉnay
be-PL-BG-that there-at-it-NOM-PL this/O 1s/O
human then… this is what they told me…

pʉsariniya-qha[-qa]-na̲… 'uru tʉvʉchi̲-'uru 'ava'na̲-tʉ-mʉ̲
story.tell-PL-ANT-REL that/O very-that/O many-NOM-PL/S
very many story-tellers

pʉsariniya-qha̲-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲…
story-tell-PL-ANT-NOM-PL
(have told me this)…

Sinawavi̲ 'uway máy-kya[-vachi̲]… 'uway… Sinawavi̲-'uru 'uwas
Sinawav 3s/O say-PL-BG 3s/O Sinawav/s-that 3s/s
They called him Sinawav… him… he was Sinawav…

'ura-'ay… sinaavi̲… 'apagha-gha 'uwas… 'uru máy-na-pʉga-vachi̲,
be-IMM wolf/s speak-GER 3s/s that/O say-HAB-REM-BG
wolf…[1] him talking… that's what they used to say,

1. Again Sinawavi̲ the Creator/Copycat and sinaavi̲ 'wolf' are overlapped here.

'apagha-na-pʉga-tʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲; manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s…[2] píisiavi-u…
talk-HAB-REM-NOM be-BG all-O-NOM-PL-C living.species-PL
he used to talk (in the old days); all of them… species…

manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s miya-vʊrʊ-rʉ-mʉ̲… núuchi-u-gway-'uru…
all-O-NOM-PL-C go/PL-go-ADJ-PL human-PL-be-that
all the living species… they were humans then…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru Sinawavi̲ 'u… navutigi-gya-tʉ̲ kh-'ura
there-at-it-be-that Sinawav/S the/S imitate-PAR-NOM then-be
In those days Sinawav used to be an imitator…

'ura-mi… súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲-aa-ni, 'uni-na-khu̲, ka-'úu-pa tʉgay-mi-wa
be-HAB other-NOM-PL-O-like do-REL-it NEG-there-DIR become-HAB-NEG
whatever others would do, he did it too, but it would never come out the

naagha̲-tʉ-pʉ-vwaa-tʉ; 'uni-mi… 'uru 'uni-kya-na-khu̲-'uru 'úu-pa
seldom-DIR-NOM-IRR-NOM do-HAB that/O do-PL-REL-it-that there-DIR
same way; he would do… whatever others did, he would

'uni-mi 'uwas; navutigi-gya-'uru, 'uni-na-pʉga-tʉ̲-'u… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura
do-HAB 3s/S imitate-PAR-that do-HAB-REM-NOM-3s there-at-it-be
do like that too; imitating…. he would do it… that's the way

'ichay-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲.
this/O-be he-that be-REM-BG
he used to be then.

'ú-vway-aqh-'uru tʉ̲-tʉgaa-pʉga-vachi̲ 'uwas, kava nana-chigya-pʉ
there-at-it-tht RED-bet-REM-BG 3s/S horse REC-race-NOM/O
Well in those days he used to bet, he would bet on horse-races;

tʉ̲-tʉgaa-pʉga; 'ú-vway-'ura mámʉ̲… 'umʉ wʉ-wʉsiaa-ga-tʉ-mʉ,
RED-bet-REM there-at-be those/S those/O RED-feather-have-NOM-PL/O
so then they… all the feathered ones,

'umʉ 'u-vwa-na̲ 'áy-pʉga 'uwas: "nʊ́mʉ̲-'ura[3]…" manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ
3p/O there-at-LOC say-REM 3s/S 1p/S-be all-O-NOM-PL/O
he told them there: "Now we…" he told

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2. Julius Cloud is using here, twice, the object form of 'all', *manu-khu*, instead of the intended subject form *manu-ni*.

3. Mr. Cloud is using the exclusive 'we' here, when the appropriate form is the inclusive táwi̲ 'we, including you-all'.

wichichi-u 'umʉ-'u máy-pʉga; "páy 'uway-va" máy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs,
bird-PL 3p/O-3s say-REM INTJ 3s/O-at say-PL-REM 3p/S
all the birds; "Never mind him" they said,

"'uwa-rukwa navas 'áy-chi-'u" máy-kya-pʉga-amu; náaghaa-rukhwa-tʉ-mu
3s/O-go just say-NOM-3s say-PL-REM-3p some-go-NOM-PL/S
"he's just talking" they said; so some of them

ka-'uni-kya-pʉa, súuva-tʉ-mʉ-s 'uni-kya-pʉga.
NEG-do-PL-REM/NEG other-NOM-PL-C do-PL-REM
didn't race him, but others did.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru kava nana-chigya-qha-pʉga, nanós
there-at-it-be-that horse REC-race-PL-REM each
So once they held a horse-race, each one (betting) on his

puku-vwa-na-av… 'uwas ságharʉ-mʉ puku-gwa-tu 'ura-pʉga, Sinawavi
horse-at-LOC-OWN 3s/S white-AN/O horse-have-NOM be-REM Sinawav/S
own horse… He had a white horse, Sinawav

'u… súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni 'ura[-qa]-pʉga-vachi-mʉ-s; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura
the/S other-NOM-PL-like be-REM-BKGR-PL-C there-at-it-be
did… others were in on it too; well then

kwa'a-khwa[-qha]-pʉay-aghay-'u 'u-vwaa-tugway-a-s…
win-go-PL-REM-CL-3s there-at-go-G-C
they beat him there… the bet they made…

máy-kya-paa-tugwa-'uru… kiya-qa-qha-pʉay-aghay-'u, kwa'a-qa-qhay-'u,
say-PL-DIR-go-that/O laugh-PL-ANT-REM-CL-3s win-PL-ANT-3s
and they laughed at him, they beat him,

pa'a-manu-khu-tugwa-s kwa'a-qha-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura ku-kusawa-gha-tu
complete-all-O-go-C win-PL-REM 3s/S-be RED-leggings-have-NOM
they won everything (he had); he used to have these leggings,

'ura-pʉga-vachi, núu-'uni-aagha-tu, 'ipʉ-a-sapa 'ú-maku-khu
be-REM-BG Indian-POSS-have-NOM WH-O-MOD that-finish-SUB
Indian style, whatever it was when they did

'uni[-kya]-pʉga.
do-PL-REM
(win from him).

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa pagha-'ni-pʉga,
there-at-it-TOP-be-that 3s/s-be there-at go-INT-REM
Well now, there was one (of them) around there,

múutata-vʉchi̱ 'u; puku-gwa-pʉga, sʉtʉ… míipʉchi̱ 'u,
hummingbird-DIM the/s horse-have-REM INTJ small the/s
little Hummingbird; he had a horse, sʉtʉ… a tiny one, it was

sʊ'achaa-chichi-mʉ̱ 'ura-pʉga, 'avu-kwa-pʉga, 'iya-vi-ni;
buckle.knee-DIM-AN be-REM prance-go-REM ugly-NOM-like
buckle-kneed, it pranced sideways; (so Sinawav asked Hummingbird):

"agha-ni-vaa-chi̱-aa máay 'uni-vaa-ni 'avu-kwa-rʉ-mʉ̱-aa? máa[y]
WH-do-IRR-NOM-Q that/O do-IRR-FUT prance-go-ADJ-AN-Q that/O
"Why would you want to race that prancing one? Why would you

'agha-ni-vaa-ni?… máa[y] 'agha-ni-vaa-ni?…" "nʉ́nay pukʉ̱ 'uni-vaa-ni"
WH-do-IRR-FUT that/O WH-do-IRR-FUT 1s/G horse/s do-IRR-FUT
(want to race) that one?… Why would you do that?" "My horse can do it"

máy-kya-sapa̱-'u; "kach-'a! kach-'a 'uni-vaa-'wa má" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u
say-ANT-MOD-3s NEG3s NEG-3s do-IRR-NEG that/s say-REM-CL-3s
Hummingbird told him; "No! That one can't!" Sinawav told him

puku-vwaa-chʉ-'u… 'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga, kava-'u 'avu-kwa-ti-pʉga
horse/O-at-DIR-3s end be-REM horse-3s prance-go-CAUS-REM
about his horse… well in the end, Hummingbird made his horse prance

'ú-vway… kava-'u 'avu-kwa-ti-pʉga, puku-av 'uni-vaa-ku máy-gya;
there-at horse-3s prance-go-CAUS-REM horse-OWN do-IRR-SUB say-REM
sideways like that anyway… he made his horse do it,

pina-khwa̱-'ura kwa'a-mʉi-ta[-qhay-kʉ̱]: "'úvway" máy-pʉga
follow-go-be beat-lead-PASS-ANT-SUB alright say-REM
Sinawav told him to have his horse run that way; finally after that horse

'uwas Sinawavi̱, "táa-sapa̱ 'uni[-kya]-paa-ni".
3s/s sinawav/s HORT-MOD do-PL-IRR-FUT
had been beaten, (Sinawav said): "Alright" he said, "Let's do it (bet)".

'ú-vwa-aqh ka-tʉvʉchi̱ 'ava'na̱tʉ̱ tuu-kwa-qha-pʉa, 'úmʉ̱
there-at-it NEG-very many/s bet-go-PL-REM/NEG 3p/s
By then not many there would bet (on Humminbird's horse),

súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni; "kwa'a-ti-ta! kwa'a-qha-paa-rawi̱! tʉ́aani-chi̱-aa
other-NOM-PL-S beat-CAUS-PASS beat-PL-IRR-1p/INCL poor-NOM-Q
those others; "He can be beaten! Let's beat him! Hasn't he already become poor

tʉga-khwa̲-kwa-pachi̲?" máy-kya-pʉga; "kwa'a-ti-ta-paa-sapa-rawi̲-'u,
become-go-ANT-BG say-PL-REM beat-CAUS-PASS-IRR-MOD-2P/IN-3S
(for losing)?" they said; "Let's get him beaten, he's not a

ka-tʉvʉchi̲ togho-khwa-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲, 'uni-u-paa!" máy-kya-pʉga; 'áa-gha
NEG-very right-go-NEG-NOM-AN do-INC-IRR say-PL-REM gentle-PAR
very straight runner, let's do it!" they said; as they were whispering among

máy-kya-pʉgay-ku̲, 'u-vwaa pagha-'ni-pʉga 'uwas: "'áavʉ-n-'ura
say-PL-REM-SUB there-at go-INT-REM 3S/S now-1S-be
themselves, and Sinawav paced about: "Maybe now I should

kʉma-vaa-na̲-aa-s 'ú́ʉʉ… 'uni-vaa-ni?" kách-'ura 'uni[-vaa-chi̲]
other-at-on-Q-C INTJ do-IRR-FUT NEG-be do-IRR-NOM
bet on 'ú́ʉʉ… another one?" he (made it appear) that he didn't

'ásti-pʉa, puku-'a tʉgʉvʉ-av.
want-REM/NEG horse-3S friend-OWN
want to bet on his friend's horse.

'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ tʉkwa[-qha]-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲
there-at-go descend-PL-REM there-at-go
So they all went down there, to where they were

qha̲qhaa-ta-na-paa-tugwa-av; "kachi-n kh-'ura miya-tukhwa̲
run-PASS-REL-IRR-go-OWN NEG-1S then-be far-go
going to run the race; "I won't be able to ride

'uni-paa-wa-ni" máy-pʉga ['uwas], "pa'a-toghwa-chi-n
do-IRR-NEG-FUT say-REM 3S/S very-straight-NOM-1S
him very far" Sinawav told them, "my straight running (horse)

ka-'i-vee-tugwa-pʉa; ka-miya-tukhwa̲ kwáa-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲
NEG-here-at-go-REM/NEG NEG-far-go run-NEG-NOM-AN/S
didn't get here; (this) is not my long-distance running

puku-n" máy-pʉga.
horse-1S say-REM
horse" he said.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ ka-súu-qha̲qharʉ-kwa-pʉa,
there-at-it-be 3S/S there-at-go NEG-strong-run-go-REM/NEG
And indeed (at the start) he (Hummingbird's horse) didn't run strong,

kʉma-khwa-tukhwa̲ qha̲qharʉ-na-pʉga, ka-súu-qha̲qharʉ-wa-tʉ̲
other-go-go run-HAB-REM NEG-strong-run-NEG-NOM
it kept running in a different directions, it was not a strong runner,

'ura-pʉga, puku-'u; 'ú́ʉʉ… nu̲-nukwi-na-pʉga, na-rʉkwa̲
be-REM horse-3s INTJ RED-run-HAB-REM REF-down
his horse; 'ú́ʉʉ… it kept running, it kept running with its head down,

nu̲-núkwi-na-pʉga, na-rʉkwa̲ nu̲-núkwi-na-pʉga, kʉma-khwa-tukhwa̲
RED-run-HAB-REM REFL-down RED-run-HAB-REM different-go-go
it kept running with its head down, it kept running in

qha̲qharʉ-na-pʉga; "máy-kya-'u!" máy-pʉga 'uwas, "nʉ́-máy nʉ́-kʉ
run-HAB-REM say-ANT-3s say-REM 3s/s 1s-say 1s-EM
odd directions; "I told you about him!" Sinawav said, "I really don't

ka-'uni[vaa-chi̲] 'ásti-wa! nʉ́' agha-ni-vaa-chi̲-aa 'uni-kwa̲-khwa?"
NEG-do-IRR-NOM want-NEG 1s/s WH-do-IRR-NOM-Q do-go-ANT
want to race him! Oh why am I doing it?"

máy-pʉga 'uwas, "'agha-ni-vaa-chi-n 'uni-kya? pa'a-kacha-'a
say-REM 3s/s WH-do-IRR-NOM-1s do-ANT very-NEG-1s
he kept lamenting, "Why am I doing it? He really

súu-qha̲qharʉ-wa!"
strong-run-NEG
can't run strong!"

pina-khwa-sapa̲-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-yukhwi̲ tʉrʉsi̲-chi-mʉ̲,
follow-go-MOD-be-that 3s/O-at-sit stop-NOM-AN
Finally when (the other racer) pulled along Hummingbird's horse,

qha̲qharʉ̲-mʉi-kwa-y kʉma-khwa-tukhwa̲, pina-khwa-sapa̲ qha̲qharʉ…
run-lead-go-IMM different-go-go follow-go-MOD run
it pulled into the lead running in the other direction, finally it ran…

kwáa-y… pina-wʉnʉ-pʉga; "máy-kya-'u!" máy-pʉga 'ú Sinawavi̲;
run-IMM follow-stand-REM say-ANT-3s say-REM that/s Sinawav/s
it galloped… (and the other guy) came last; "I warned him!" said Sinawav;

['uwas-'ura] pa'a-ka-'átʉ-tʉsu'a̲-pʉa.
3s/s-be very-NEG-good-feel-REM/NEG
and the other guy felt real bad (losing).

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwas chaghachi-va tʉgaa-gha-tʉ̲
there-at-it-TOP-be-that 3s/s near-at reach-have-NOM
It was indeed a fact that Sinawav was strictly a short-distance

'ura-pʉga-vachi̲, pʉ́-paa-tugwa 'uni-na̲, 'u-vwaa-'u wachuwi̲-pʉga;
be-REM-BG REL-DIR-go do-REL there-at-3s overtake-REM
racer, the way he did it, overtaking the other guy;

puku-'u… 'ú̵u̵u̵…. 'uwa-pa qha̲qhaɾu̵-pu̵ga, nani-kwa'a-khwa-pu̵ga.
horse-3s INTJ 3s/O-DIR run-REM REF-win-go-REM
his horse… 'ú̵u̵u̵… it ran past the other guy, so he did win.

'ú̵u̵u̵… Sinawavi̲ pa'a-'uwa-vɵɾɵ-pu̵ga: "tu̵gu̵vu̵-n nani-kwa'a-'u,
INTJ Sinawav/s very-jump-go-REM friend-3s REF-win-3s
'ú̵u̵u̵… Sinawav was jumping up and down: "My friend won,

'atachi-aa-n púku̲! máy-pu̵ga, "nani-kwa'a-khwa̲-'u!" máy-pu̵gay-'u;
kin-G-3s horse/s say-REM REFL-win-go-3s say-REM-3s
my kinsman's horse!" he said, "he won!" he said;

'uwa-rugwa-aqh chicha-wu̵nay 'uru 'uni-aa-s 'uru, 'uni-aa-s-'u
3s/O-give-it throw-shake the/O POSS-G-C the/O POSS-G-C-3s
so they gave him back all the stuff he had lost before,

kwa'a-qha̲-qa-na̲-amu̵ 'uru, 'uni-aaghay-kya-na̲ 'uru, 'úɾu̲-'uru
win-PL-ANT-REL-3p the/O POSS-have-ANT-REL the/O that-that/O
his possessions, his possessions that they had won from him, all that he had,

'uwa-rukwa̲ chicha-wu̵nay-khwa̲-pu̵ay-agha.
3s/O-go throw-shake-go-REM-CL
that is what they gave him back.

'uru kwa'a-khwa-pu̵chi-gya-tu̲, 'u̵vu̵s; "'u̵vu̵s-unuv"
that win-go-DIM-have-NOM end end-TOP
So Sinawav was the winner; "Far enough" he had

máy-kya-pu̵ay-aghay-amu̲, "'i-vaa-tugwa-sapa̲-'ara 'uni-kya-paa-ni"
say-ANT-REM-CL-3p here-at-go-MOD-be do-PL-IRR-FUT
told them (before the race), we will do it (only) up to here"

máy-kya-pu̵ga 'uwas; "'agha-ni-gya?" máy-kya-pu̵ga 'umu̵s; "nú̵-'ura
say-ANT-REM 3s/s WH-do-PAR say-PL-REM 3p/s 1s/s-be
he had said; "Why?" they asked; "I'm the one who has the say, I was

máy-kh, nú̵-gu̵-s-'ura kwa'a-ta-sapa̲; ka-'apagha-wa-tu̲ 'ura-'ay,
say-IMM 1s-EM-C-be beat-PASS-MOD NEG-talk-NEG-NOM be-IMM
the one who was beaten; I am not a talker,

pú̵ka-'uni-chi̲" máy-pu̵ga; "nu̵mu̵y-ga-'ura kách, ka-'uni-kya-paa-'wa-ni,
hard-do-NOM say-REM 1p-TOP-be NEG NEG-do-PL-IRR-NEG-FUT"
(only) a hard doer" he said; "Not us, we won't do it (your way), maybe later

pina-khwa-sapa̲-'ara 'uni-kya-paa" máy-kya-pu̵ay-aghay-'u; ['uwas-'ura]
follow-go-MOD-be do-PL-IRR say-PL-REM-CONC-3s 3s/s-be
we might do it" they told him; but he didn't like that very much,

ka-'atʉ-tʉsu'a-pʉa, púka-rʉga-pʉga 'uwas 'uni-vaa-chi-s,
NEG-well-feel-REM/NEG hard-persist-REM 3s/S do-IRR-NOM-C
so he persisted in doing it (his way),

'uni-kya-ta-vaa-[ku]-s; nani-kwa'a-khwa-chi̲-'uru, tʉgʉvʉ-av 'uway
do-PL-PASS-IRR-SUB-S REF-win-go-NOM-that friend-OWN 3s/GEN
in having them do it; when he won, when his friend

nani-kwa'a-kʉ-khay-ku̲.
REF-win-BEN-ANT-SUB
won it for him.

'ú-vway-aqh múutatachi 'uway púku̲ 'ura-pʉga…
there-at-it hummingbird/GEN 3s/G horse/s be-REM
So it was Hummingbird's horse (who won)… it was that

ka-píya-kwáa-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲ máa 'ura-pʉa… chaghachi-vaa-'uru
NEG-very-run-NEG-NOM-AN that/S be-REM/NEG near-at-that
one who wasn't a very fast runner… it was (only) at a short distance

'uwas-'ura 'uwa-pa qha̲qharʉ̲-pʉga-'uru… tʉvʉchi̲… pʉ́-paa-tugwa
3s/s-be 3s/O-DIR run-REM-that very REL-DIR-go
that he ran past the other horse… truly…

'uni-paa-tugwa-na̲-'uru…
do-DIR-go-REL-that
that he (raced) past him…

'ʉvʉs, pa'a-yugwi-pʉga, 'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga, pʊrʊ-navichi̲-pʉga;
end complete-sit/PL-REM end be-REM go-MASS-REM
So there, it was all done, it ended, they all took off;

'u-vwaa-yis miya-'ni-pʉga 'umʉs; 'uni-a-av 'úu-pa-s
there-at-C go/PL-INT-REM 3p/s POSS-G-OWN there-DIR-C
only they (Sinawav and Hummingbird) remained behind; Sinawav had

kwa'a-khwa̲-kwa-pʉga 'ú Sinawavi̲, 'ipʉ[-sapa̲]
win-go-ANT-REM 3s/s sinawav/s WH-MOD
won back all his possession like that, whatever they had won from

kwa-kwa'a̲-qha-[qa]-na̲-amʉ̲, nanʊs-av 'uni-aa… ka-kwa'a-na-pʉa
RED-win-PL-ANT-REL-3p REFL-OWN POSS-G NEG-win-HAB-REM/NEG
him earlier, his own possessions… he didn't think he was going

máy-kya-ni… 'ú-'u̲ni-kya-mi 'uway-'uru… 'uway… tʉsu'a-pʉ̲ 'uwa…
say-ANT-like RED-do-PL-HAB 3s/O-that 3s/O feel-NOM 3s/O
to win… they always do that… that… his feelings…

'uwa[y] sinawavi-vaa-chʉ máy-kya-nạ-amʉ̲… 'ú-'ṵway-kway
3s/O sinawav/O-at-DIR say-PL-REL-3p RED-3s/O-MOD
That's what they say about Sinawav… that's what is

Sinawavi 'uway máy-ta 'uni-kya-mi… súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni… ta'wavi-amʉ̲
Sinawav/O 3s/O say-PASS do-PL-HAB other-NOM-PL-S chief-3p
said of Sinawav… those others… he used to be their chief;

'ura-mi; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kách 'úu-pa-tugwa-mi-wa; navutigi-tʉ̲
be-HAB that-at-it-be NEG that-DI-go-HAB-NEG imitate-NOM
but then he would never do it the right way; he is a copycat,

kh-'ura-mi 'uwas, navutigi-gya-'uru… púupa-ni-'uru mani-kya[-nạ]…
then-be-HAB 3s/S imitate-PAR-that way-like-that do.like-PL
imitating… the way they do… the others, the way

súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲-aa-ni, púupa mani-kya-mi-nạ, 'íi-pa-kway 'uni-mi 'uwas,
other-NOM-PL-O-like way do.like-PL-HAB-REL this-DIR-MOD do-HAB 3s/S
they act, that's the way he does it, he does it this way,

manu-khṵ-tʉ̲-aa-s-'uru 'uni… 'ipʉ-sapạ, mʉi-wʉnʉ-vərə-miya-s-kway.
all-O-NOM-O-C-that do WH-MOD lead-stand-go-HAB-C-MOD
do everything… whatever, he pushes his way to the head of the line.

máy-kya-nʉ[-s]… 'ura-nʉ-s 'áy-kya[-na]-y, pʉsariniya-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲.
say-ANT-1S-C be-1S-C say-PL-REL-O story.tell-PL-NOM-PL/S
I have spoken… that's what they say, the story-tellers'.

TEXT 14

Sinawav burning his own house

told by: Bertha B. Groves[1]
date recorded: 9-29-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Bertha Groves

wíitʉs 'ura-pʉga, Sinawavi̲ 'ura-pʉga, Sinawavi̲ 'ura-pʉga
past be-REM Sinawav/s be-REM Sinawav/s be-REM
It was long ago, there was Sinawav, there was Sinawav

kh-'ura… mʉi-tʉ̲-a-s 'úmʉ̲ [píisiavi-u] núuchi-u 'ura[-qa]-pʉga,
then-be lead-NOM-O-C 3s/s species-PL hunman-PL be-PL-REM
then… at the beginning those animals were human,

wichichi-u 'ura[-qa]-pʉga… manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s 'ura-pʉga… kh-'ura
bird-PL be-PL-REM all-O-PAR-PL-C be-REM then-be
the birds also were (human)… all of them were (human)… they used

Sinawavi̲ máy-kya-na-pʉga-vachi̲-'ura, súu-kus Sinawavi̲ kh-'ura…
Sinawav say-PL-HAB-REM-BG-be one-O Sinawav then-be
to call him Sinawav then, that one Sinawav…

navutigi-mi súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni 'uni-kya-na[-y], 'úu-pa-aqh
imitate-HAB other-NOM-PL-O-like do-PL-REL-O there-DIR-it
he used to imitate what others would do, that's what

'uni-mi-'u… 'ú…
do-HAB-3s that/s
he would do…

kh-'ura-s kani-vaghay-kwa-na-pʉga-vachi̲,
then-be-s house-walk-go-HAB-REM-BG
In those days he used to go around visiting,

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1. This story seems to be part of "Sinawav the copycat" (7), (8).

kani-vaghay-kwa-na-pʉga-vachi̱ 'uwasʉ-ga; 'aka-qonavi̱
house-walk-go-HAB-REM-BG 3s-TOP red-flicker/s
he used to go around visiting; and Red-Flicker

kani-gya-pʉga-vachi̱-'ura, súu-pa ka-ghani-gya-miya-kʉ̱ naágha̱-tʉ-mʉ̱,
house-have-REM-BG-be one-DIR RED-house-have-HAB-it some-NOM-PL/S
had a house, some of them used to have houses together,

'úu-pa-ni 'aka-qonavi-u [ka-]kani-gya-pʉga-vachi̱.
there-DIR-like red-flicker-PL RED-house-have-REM-BG
the Red Flickers had a house like that.

[kh-'ura 'uwas-'ura] chaghachi-vaa-chʉ̱-'u 'u-vwaa-kwa-pʉga, kh-'ura
then-be 3s/s-be near-at-DIR-3s there-at-go-REM the-be
So Sinawav was going towards (Red-Flicker's house), he was

'uwas-'ura chaghachi-vaa-chʉ̱-'u tavi-pʉga, 'úu-pa-'ura 'umʉs
3s/s-be near-at-DIR-DIR-3s step-REM there-DIR-be 3p/s
stepping near there, they had their houses

ka-ghani-gya-pʉga-vachi-mʉ̱… whsia-'uni-amʉ̱… kani-gyay-kʉ̱-amʉ̱-'ura…
RED-house-have-REM-BG-PL feather-POSS-3p house-have-SUB-3p-be
that-a-way… their feather… when they had their houses…

'aka-gha-rʉ̱ 'uru-saa-ni̱… máa-pa 'uni-kya-pʉga-vachi-s
red-have-ADJ that-TOP-like there-DIR do-PL-REM-BG-C
it was red… they had made it that way making their houses (look)

'urusʉ-ga kani-ma̱-amʉ̱ 'uni-kya-pʉga-vachi-s,
that/S-TOP house-LOC-3p do-PL-REM-BG-C
that way like they were really burning,

'ʉ́ʉ-naguch'a-pʉga-vachi-ni, 'ʉ́ʉ-na'ay-pʉga-vachi-ni…
real-burn-REM-BG-like real-burn-REM-BG-like
like they were really on fire…

chaghachi-va̱-'uru tʉga-wi-chi̱, 'uwasʉ-ga 'iya-na̱, píiya̱-pʉga
near-at-that approach-??-NOM 3s/s-TOP here-LOC trot-REM
So as he came closer there, Sinawav started trotting toward

'umʉ-vwaa-chukhwa̱: "'áachi-u-n, kani-amʉ̱ 'ú-'ʉ̱way mʉni naguch'a-y!"
3p/O-at-go uncle-PL-1s house-2p RED-3s/O 2p/G burn-IMM
them (shouting): "My kinsmen, your house is on fire!"

máy-pʉga, "naguch'a-y-kway nʉ́-vway kani-amʉ̱!" máy-pʉga,
say-REM burn-IMM-MOD 1s-at house-2p say-REM
he shouted, "I see your house burning!" he said,

tuu-vʉni-vərə-pʉgaa-ni 'uwasʉ-ga 'úu-pa; 'umʉs máy-kya-pʉgay-'u:
wild-look-go-REM-like 3s/s-TOP there-DIR 3p/s say-PL-REM-3s
and he kept looking about with wild eyes; so the hummingbirds told him:

"'áarʉ, 'áarʉ, kach-aqh naguch'a-y-wa, mani-ta-sapa-aqh-'ura"; "'ʉʉ"
gentle gentle, NEG-it burn-IMM-NEG do.like-PASS-MOD-it-be yes
"Take it easy, it's not burning, it is just done that way"; "Alright"

'áy-pʉga 'uwas, "tʉvʉchi-n nayava-chaa-n nʉ́-ga, 'úu-chivi-'ura-amʉ
say-REM 3s/s true-1s err-INC-1s 1s-TOP there-exit-be-2p
he said, "I surely made a mistake, (I thought) your (house) was

naguch'a-y-vi-u".
burn-??-NOM-??
burning there".

kani-gyarʉ-pʉga-amʉ, kh-'ura magha-[-qa]-pʉay-aghay-'u;
house-sit-REM-3p then-be feed-PL-REM-CL-3s
So Sinsawav visited with the Red-Flickers, and they fed him;

pina-khwa-'ura 'uwas payu-khwa-pʉga, payu-khwa-uchaa-pʉga:
follow-go-be 3s/s return-go-REM return-go-start-REM
then he went back home, he started to go home:

"pʉnikya-vaa-chi-amʉ, kani-vaghay-kya-n-'uru" [máy-pʉga-amʉ]; "'ʉʉ"
see-IRR-NOM-2p house-walk-PL-1s-that say-REM-3p yes
"I'll see y'all, come visit me" he told them; "Sure"

máy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs, "kani-vaghay-kya-paa-tʉ-mʉ-'ara".
say-PL-REM 3p/s house-walk-PL-IRR-NOM-PL
they said, "we'll come visit you".

'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… 'anə-khwa-sapa 'ura-pʉga-vachi; 'ʉvʉy-na-khwa-pachi-ukh,
INTJ WH-go-MOD be-REM-BG elapse-HAB-go-BG-SUB
'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… it was who-knows-how-long later; when some time has elapsed,

'umʉsʉ-ga 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kani-miya-pʉga[y-'u]: "tawi-aa kwá-nʉ-kway
3p/s-TOP there-at-it-be house-go/PL-REM-3s 1p/INC-O go-IMP-MOD
the Red-Flickers then decided to go and visit Sinawav: "Since we

pa'ay-ta[-qha]y-kʉ, kani-vagha-miya-vaa-kʉ-'ura" máy-kya-pʉga.
call-PASS-ANT-SUB house-go-go/PL-IRR-SUB-be say-PL-REM
were invited, to come and visit his house" they said.

'uwas-'ura pʉni-na-pʉga-vachi, kukwa-y-'ura… kukwapi
3s/s-be look-HAB-REM-BG chop.wood-IMM-be firewood/O
Well Sinawav kept watching (for them), chopping wood…

magu'na-na-pʉga, kani-wagha-tugwa-av; manu-khu-pa kukwapi
pile-HAB-REM house-around-go-OWN all-O-DIR firewood/O
he kept piling up firewood around his house; all the firewood

magu'na-ta-qha-pʉga, kukwapi ma-magu'na-na-pʉga; kh-'ura
pile-PASS-ANT-REM firewood/O RED-pile-HAB-REM then-be
was piled up, he kept piling up fire-wood; then

qhaqharʉ-na-pʉga wʉgaa-ma-tukhwa, pʉnikya-'avi[-vaa-chi]
run-HAB-REM hill-LOC-go see-lie-IRR-NOM
he ran up the hill, to sit and watch for them (coming)…

'umʉ-a-kway… 'ú-'uni-na-pʉga-kway, nuwa-'ni-na-pʉga-amʉ.
3p-O-MOD RED-do-HAB-REM-MOD wait-INT-HAB-REM-3p
he kept doing that, waiting for them (to come).

pina-khwa-'ura 'úu-pa-kwa qhaqharʉ-pʉga, wʉga-ma-tukhwa
follow-go-be there-DIR-go run-REM hill-LOC-go
So finally he ran that-a-way, standing and looking

pʉni-wʉnʉ-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-tukhwa pʊrʊ-pʉga 'umʉsʉ-ga;
look-stand-REM there-at-go walk/PL-REM 3p/S-TOP
on top of the hill, and there they were walking over;

'úu-pa-s 'uwasʉ-ga ka-sarivani-kwa-pʉa kukwapi 'uru
there-DIR-C 3s/S-TOP NEG-delay-go-REM/NEG firewood/O the/O
so right there without delay he lighted up the firewood

ma-magu'na-ta-qha-na-av na'ay-ti-pʉga.
RED-pile-PASS-ANT-REL-OWN burn-CAUS-REM
that had been gathered there.

'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… 'umʉs chaghachi-vaa-chukhwa pʊrʊ-pʉga… kani-av
INTJ 3p/s near-at-go walk/PL-REM house-OWN
'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… the Red-Flickers walked over (to him)… he had

'aka-qoya-pʉgaa-ni; 'umʉas 'uwas navutigi-kya 'uwas, 'uni-pʉga-vachi;
red-flame-REM-like 3p/O 3s/S imitate-ANT 3s/S do-REM-BG
his own house blazing red; he imitated them, he did;

chaghachi-vaa-chʉ tavi[-kya]-chi: "'áaaa!…" 'áy-kya-pʉga, "kani-m
near-at-DIR step-PL-NOM INTJ say-PL-REM house-2s
so stepping closer to him: "'áaa!…" they said, "your house

naguch'a-y, 'iyʉpʉy-aa-n[ʉmʉ]" 'áy-kya-pʉga 'umʉsʉ-ga;
burn-IMM kinswoman-G-1p say-PL-REM 3p/S-TOP
is burning, our kinswoman!" they said;

“ma-mani-ta-sapa̲-'ara márʉ̲” máy-pʉga 'uwas, “ma-mani-ta-sapa̲-'ara
RED-do.like-PASS-MOD-be that/S say-REM 3s/S RED-do.like-PASS-MOD-be
“It’s (always) done like this” he said, “it is always done like

márʉ̲, púupa-agha 'ura-chi-na̲” máy-pʉga 'uwas; pʉ́ka-máy-kya-pʉga
that/S way-have be-NOM-REL say-REM 3s/S hard-say-PL-REM
this, the way it is” he said; and they tried hard telling

'umʉs-'u: “kani-mʉ̲ naguch'a-y!” ka-na-rʉsu'a-'ni-pʉa 'uwas:
3p/S-3s house-2s burn-IMM NEG-REFL-attend-INT-REM/NEG 3s/S
him: “Your house is burning!” but he paid no attention:

“ma-mani-ta-sapa̲-'ara márʉ̲” máy-pʉga 'uwas, “táa, pana-khwa̲,
RED-do.like-PASS-MOD-be that/S say-REM 3s/S HORT come/PL-go
“It always does it like this” he said, “come on,

tʉka-qha-paa-ni̲-'ara”.
eat-PL-IRR-FUT-be
let’s eat”.

'umʉs 'u-vwaa-s yu'wi-kya-pʉga, pina-khwa̲ 'uwas mani-khwa̲-pʉga,
3p/S there-at-C stand/PL-ANT-REM follow-go 3s/S do.like-go-REM
So they stood there, and finally Sinawav did like this,

pʉnikya-pʉga kani-'u naguch'a-pʉga[-na-y] 'urusʉ-ga 'iya-na̲,
see-REM house-3s burn-REM-SUB-O that/S-TOP here-LOC
he saw that his house was burning right there,

'uwasʉ-ga 'u-vwaa-na̲ wʉnʉ-pʉga: “'agha-ni-aqh-amʉ̲-kway 'uni-kya-y
3s/S-TOP there-at-LOC stand-REM WH-do-it-3p-MOD do-PL-IMM
and he just stood there: “How could they have

'umʉsʉ-ga?… 'agha-ni-aqh-amʉ̲ kh-'ura mʉni 'uni-kya-y-kʉ̲
3p/S-TOP WH-do-it-2p then-be 2p/G do-PL-IMM-SUB
done it?… How did you do it

ka-naguch'a-y-wa?” máy-pʉga 'uwasʉ-ga; “kach-aqh 'urus 'ura-wa,
NEG-burn-IMM-NEG say-REM 3s/S-TOP NEG-it that/S be-NEG
without it burning?” he asked them; “It was not like that,

ka-naguch'a-y-wa, 'urus kh-'urus nʉmʉy whsiaa-ni-aa-nʉmʉ̲ 'uni-kya
NEG-burn-IMM-NEG that/S then-that/S 1p/G feather-like-G-1p do-ANT
it didn’t burn, it was our feathers that did that,

'urus, na'a-ti-ni sʉti-tʉ̲ 'urus” máy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs; 'ʉvʉs.
that/S fire-CAUS-like resemble-NOM that/S say-PL-REM 3p/S end
they resemble fire” they said; and that was that.

PART II

The Coyote cycle

Introduction

The Ute creation story (1), (2) may be considered as the fountainhead from which both the Sinawav and Coyote story cycles fork out. Sinawav and Coyote were partners in creation, and each in turn experienced a species of The Fall – albeit of a different kind. Sinawav's gradual descent rendered him the fornicating, incestuous, gullible copycat whose scheming invariably fails. His little brother Coyote, following his Original Sin, turned into the malevolent trickster, forever brewing mischief and destruction, spreading misery and pain wherever he goes. Yet somehow, invariably, Coyote succeeds. Not only that, but the story-tellers tend to laugh, often uproariously, *with* Coyote and his successful malevolence. Just as they laugh *at* Sinawav and his recurrent failure.

If one can assume that the So. Paiute single-creator account (3) – with Sinawav and Coyote being one and the same – is the older account, then one may perhaps view the two major Ute story cycles as the splitting of the evil propensity of the human soul into two distinct clusters – **rank stupidity** (including incestuous fornication) and **sheer evil**. If one then takes the differential destiny of Sinawav and Coyote in the Ute oral tradition at face value, or perhaps as a gentle hint, stupidity invariably fails, while evil most often triumphs. After Creation, both Sinawav and Coyote are equally, supremely, self-serving. The difference between them – Coyote's advantage – is intelligence.

Judeo-Christian ethics – scriptural obfuscation notwithstanding – is based squarely, ever since the advent of early primate co-operative societies, on Christ's Golden Rule – "do onto others". In what way is the Ute hunter-gatherer's ethics all that different? What one may note in Coyote's malevolent ventures is that the victims are never members of his own kin group. The application of the Golden Rule in the hunter-gatherer Society of Intimates, the calculus of trust and cooperation, is rather transparent (Givón 2002, ch. 9):

- You cooperate only with those you trust.
- You trust only those you know, intimately.

Cooperation in the Society of Intimates is strictly **kin-based**. Indeed, the kinship system of a small society is the road-map for computing the kind and degree of cooperation one owes various members of one's social group. Coyote's malevolence, within the social calculus of the Society of Intimates, is thus only natural – he is evil toward non-kin, toward **strangers**.

Whether our own Society of Strangers is all that different is a matter for another discussion.[1] Certainly the concept of "enemy" in Western warfare – the Geneva Convention notwithstanding – suggests that the license we grant ourselves as we deal with our enemies is not all that different from the license assumed by Coyote in his dealing with strangers.

1. See again Givón (2002, ch. 9)

TEXT 15

Hungry Coyote races Skunk for prairie-dogs

told by: Mollie B. Cloud.
date recorded: 9-3-76.
recorded by: Pat Rael.
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith.

Yoghovʉchi̱ 'u pagha-'ni-na-pʉga, kach 'ini-a-sapa̱
coyote/s the/s go-INT-HAB-REM NEG WH-O-MOD
Coyote was wandering about, he had not killed anything

paqha-na-pʉa, 'ʊʊ-'ay-kwa-pʉga, ka-'ini-a-sapa̱ paqha-na-pʉa,
kill-HAB-REM/NEG bone-??-go-REM NEG-WH-O-MOD kill-HAB-REM/NEG
(for a long time), he has become skin-and-bones, he had not killed anything

tʉgʉy-whkay-vʊrʊ-na-pʉga-'ura; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'u-vwaa-tʉ-'ura
hunger-search-go-HAB-REM-be there-at-it-be there-at-DIR-be
(for a long time), he went around hungry searching; then there was

'ính-kway 'ura-pʉga… mu̱kwapi maay-pʉga, pacha'ay-kway-ku̱;
WH/S-MOD be-REM spider/O find-REM stick-ANT-SUB
what-cha-ma-call-it there… he saw a spider, stuck there;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas magʉ'na-pʉga, tʉka-vaa-chi̱-'u; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura
there-at-it-be 3s/S pounce-REM eat-IRR-NOM-3s there-at-it-be
so he pounced on it, aiming to eat it; but then

'uwas-'uru 'áy-pʉga: "'ʉ́mu̱-'ura nʉ́nay 'anʊ-pa'a-tugwa-ni̱
3s/S-that say-REM 2s/s-be 1s/O WH/QU-long-go-like
the spider said: "How long would you

pʊni-kya-vaa-ni?" 'áy-pʉgay-'u, "nʉ́-nugway tʉvʉchi̱ míipʉ-vʉchi̱ 'ura-'ay"
fill-PASS-IRR-FUT say-REM-3s 1s-TOP very small-DIM be-IMM
be filled with me?" he asked him, "I am very small"

'áy-pʉgay-'u… 'áy-pʉay-aghay-'u… "kachi-n-'ura nʉ́nay pʊni-'a-vaa-'wa-ni
say-REM-3s say-REM-CL-3s NEG-1s-be 1s/O fill-??-IRR-NEG-FUT
he told him… he told him… "you will not fill (yourself) with me

paqha-kwa-chi-n"; "'úvway" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas, págha-kwa-pʉga-s 'uwas.
gill-go-NOM-1s alright say-REM-C 3s/s go-go-REM-C 3s/s
if you kill me"; "Alright" said Coyote and took off.

'ú-vwa-na tʉgʉy-whqay-paghay-gya, 'i-vee-ni 'ú sú-iini
there-at-LOC hungry-search-walk-PAR here-at-like 3s/s other-s
Well, walking about there hungrily searching, lo, there

yoghovʉchi 'u 'ʘa-qa-chi-mi-tʉ-'ura… "fox" 'áy-kya-mi-pʉ…
coyote/s the/s yellow-have-??-HAB-NOM-be fox say-PASS-HAB-NOM
was another coyote, a yellow one… they call it 'fox'…

'uwa-ra-tʉ-mʉ-ni… tavay-ca'achi… mani-wʉnʉ-pʉga-s 'ivichi
3s/O-be-NOM-AN-like yellow.fox/s do.like-stand-REM-C stick/O
that kind… yellow fox… he was standing like this against

'u-ma-tukhwa; 'ú-'ura-'uru 'áy-pʉga[-tʉ]-'u… 'ú-'uway-'ura-'uru 'uwas
there-LOC-go 3s/s-be-that say-REM-REL-3s RED-3s/O-be-that 3s/s
a pole; he's the one who told him… he's the one that Coyote

paqha-vaa-chi… 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa qaqharʉ-pʉga-s… "kách"
kill-IRR-NOM 3s/O-at-go run-REM-C NEG
intended to kill… so Coyote ran towards him… "No"

máy-pʉga-s 'uwas… 'ú-'ura 'uway yoghovʉchi 'uwa-agha-pani
say-REM-C 3s/s 3s/s-be 3s/O coyote/O 3s/O-over-like
said the fox… that one was smarter than Coyote…

tʉsu'a-chi-mʉ 'ura-vachi… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas 'áy-pʉga:
smart-NOM-AN be-BG there-at-it-be 3s/s say-REM
so Yellow-Fox said:

"'agha-ni-guni-'ura nʉ́nay paqha-vaa-ni?" máy-pʉga-s, "nʉ́-'ura 'ʉmʉy
WH-do-TOP-be 1s/O kill-IRR-FUT say-REM-C 1s/s-be 2s/O
"Why should you want to kill me?" he asked, "I will feed you"

magha-vaa-chi-mʉ", máy-pʉga-s, "'uru tʉgʉy-naru'a-kwa-y-kʉ-mʉ
feed-IRR-NOM-2s say-REM-C that/O hunger-buy-go-IMM-it-2s
he said, "just tell me what it is you are hungry for"

máy-gwa-n" máy-pʉgay-'u-kway-'uru, "'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru
say-go-1s say-REM-3s-MOD-that there-at-it-be-that
he told him, "so why would you want to

'agha-ni-gya nʉ́nay paqha-vaa-ni, nʉ́-nugway pʉni-wʉnʉ-rʉ 'ura-'ay?"
WH-do-PAR 1s/O kill-IRR-FUT 1s/s-TOP look-stand-ADJ be-IMM
kill me, when I'm the one who can stand and look (for food for you)?"

máy-pʉga-s; “nʉ́-nugway ˈichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwaa-agha-tʉ pʉni-wʉnʉ-rʉ̲
say-REM-C 1s/S-TOP this/O land/O-at-over-DIR look-stand-ADJ
he said; “I stand and look all over this country

ˈura-ˈay” máy-pʉga-s.
be-IMM say-REM-C
(anyway)” he said.

“ˈʉ́mʉ̲-aa-ˈura ka-ˈuni… navas ˈuni… navas pʉni-wʉnʉ-rʉ̲-ˈura-ˈuru,
2s/S-Q-be NEG-do just do just look-stand-ADJ-be-that
“(You mean) you won’t… you just… you’ll just stand and look

tʉka-vaa-nạ̲-av-ˈuru pʉsaghay-gya?” máy-pʉga-ˈuru ˈú-ˈu; [kh-ˈura]
eat-IRR-REL-OWN-that search-PAR say-REM-that 3s/S-3s then-be
searching for food (for me)?” Coyote asked Fox; so Fox told him

ˈú-ˈu fox máy-pʉgay-ˈu; “ˈʉvʉs, ˈʉ́mʉ̲ pʉni-wʉnʉ” máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu.
3s/S-3s fox say-REM-3s end 2s/s look-stand/IMP say-REM-CL-3s
(that was true; so Coyote said:) “Fine, you stand and look” he told him.

“ˈʉ́mʉ̲-ˈura maay-vaa-tʉ̲-ˈu ˈuway tʉka-vaa-nạ̲-av-paa-tʉ”
2s/S-be see-IRR-NOM 3s/O eat-IRR-REL-OWN-DIR-NOM/O
“Now you (yourself) will see the one you will eat”

máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu; ˈuwas ˈu-vwaa-s mani-wʉnʉ-pʉga-s, ˈuwas fox
say-REM-CL-3s 3s/s there-at-C do.like-stand-REM-C 3s/s fox
Fox told Coyote; so Coyote stood there just like this (gesture), while Fox

qhạ̲qharʉ-vachi̲, máy-gya-s… ˈuwas ˈu-vwaa-s mani-wʉnʉ-vachi̲…
run-BG say-PAR-C 3s/s there-at-C do.like-stand-BG
ran away, that is to say… And coyote just stood there like this…

ká-tʉsuˈa-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲… ˈura-gha… ˈʉvʉs.
NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN be-PAR end
being not very smart… well that was that

pina-khwạ̲-ˈura ˈawi-tava-khwạ̲-pʉga, ˈuwas: “ˈagha-ni-chaa ˈú-kway
follow-go-be long-sun-go-REM 3s/s WH-do-INC 3s/S-MOD
So later after a long time, Coyote (wondered): “How is he (Fox)

tʉga-khwạ̲-kwa?” máy-pʉgaa[-ni]; ká-maay-pʉay-ˈu… “ˈi̲pʉ-aqh-ˈura
approach-go-ANT say-REM-like NEG-see-REM/NEG-3s WH-it-be
coming along there?” he wondered; he couldn’t see him… “What was it

ˈáy-kh?” máy-pʉga; pina-khwạ̲ pʉnikya-pʉga… “nʉ́-ˈara ˈi̲-vee
say-IMM say-REM follow-go see-REM 1s/s-be here-at
that he said?” he wondered; so finally he looked around… “I’ll be

mʉay-kʉ-vaa-tʉ-mʉ̲” máy-kya-pʉga… ˈura-ˈuwas… ˈu-vwaa-tʉ
wait-BEN-IRR-NOM-2s say-ANT-REM be-3s/s there-at-DIR
waiting for you right here” he said… Fox did… but he looked there,

pʉnikya-pʉga, ka-ˈipʉ-ˈa-pʉga, ˈú́ʉ-tʉravi̲-sʉ mani-wʉnʉ-ka-pʉga;
see-REM NEG-WH-have/NEG-REM real-throw-C do.like-stand-ANT-REM
and there was nothing, he had been standing there in vain (all along);

ˈʉvʉs, pagha-nʉ̲kwi-pʉga ˈú-vway-aqh.
end go-run-REM there-at-it
well, so Coyote took off.

kh-ˈura ˈu-vwaa-tʉ-ˈura-ˈuru ˈini-a-kway maay-pʉga-s, tavʉchi…
then-be there-at-DIR-be-that WH-O-MOD see-REM-C rabbit/O
Then right there he saw what’s-his-name, Rabbit…

ˈú-ˈu̲way-ˈura-ˈuru… “ˈáavʉ-n-ˈura-ˈuru… tʉ̲-tʉka-vaa-ni” máy-pʉgaa-ni
RED-3s/O-be-that now-1s-be-that RED-eat-IRR-FUT say-REM-like
that’s the one… “Now I shall eat and eat” he thought;

ˈuwas; tavʉchi ˈuway máy-pʉga-s ˈuwas; ˈʉvʉs, ˈú-vway-aqh-unuv-ˈuru
3s/s rabbit/O the/O say-REM-C 3s/s end there-at-it-TOP-that
and he told Rabbit too; well, right then he became

tʉvʉchi̲ tʉgʉy-naruˈa̲-khwa̲-pʉga; “ˈanʊ-paˈa-tugwaa-ni nʉ́nay
very hunger-buy-go-REM WH-long-go-like 1s/G
very hungry; “How long (do you think) you’ll be

pʊni-kya-vaa-ni ˈuru tʉka-gha-n, pa̲qha-khwa̲-ku̲-yinʔ” máy-pʉga-s
fill-ANT-IRR-FUT that eat-PAR-1s kill-go-SUB-1s say-REM-C
filled with me, eating me, if you kill me?”

ˈú tavʉchi̲ ˈu-vwaa-tʉ; “nʉ́nay-nugway kach pʊni-na-vaa-ni”
that/s rabbit/s there-at-DIR 1s/O-TOP NEG fill-ANT/NEG-IRR-FUT
Rabbit asked him then; “You won’t fill yourself with me”

máy-pʉga; “ˈáaru̲” máy-pʉga, “nʉ́-kʉ pu̲chuchugwa-mi ˈumʉ
say-REM gentle say-REM 1s/S-EM know-HAB those/G
he said; “Now you take it easy” he said, “it just so happens that I know

tʊchayˈa-u ˈipʉ-paa-na̲” máy-pʉga-ˈura… tavʉchi̲ ˈu máy-pʉga;
prairie.dog-PL WH-DIR-REL say-REM-be rabbit/s the/s say-REM
where those prairie-dogs are” he said… Rabbit said…

“ˈuvwiya-rami̲-ˈu” máy-pʉga, “ˈú-vway-aqh-unuv-ˈuru-ˈura-tʉ-mʉ̲
HORT-2d/IN-3s say-REM there-at-it-TOP-that-be-NOM-2s
“Let’s (go there)” he told him, “and then you may

'ava'na-tʉ-mʉ tʉka-vaa-tʉ-mʉ" máy-pʉga… 'áy-pʉga 'ú tavʉchi;
many-NOM-PL/O eat-IRR-NOM-2s say-REM say-REM that/s rabbit/s
eat many of them" he said… that rabbit said;

'umʉs-'ura-'uru 'uni-'a-pʉga-s-amʉ, pághá-kwa-pʉga-s-amʉ.
3p/s-be-that do-??-REM-C-PL go-go-REM-C-3p
so the two of them went and did it, they took off.

'u-vwaa-tugwa-khwá-'ura mʉi-kwa-pʉga: "'i-vee-tʉ nʉ́-kʉ 'áy-kh"
there-at-go-go-be lead-go-REM here-at-DIR 1s/s-EM say-IMM
Now Rabbit led Coyote that-a-way: "This way I say"

máy-pʉga, tavʉchi 'u… "pʉnikya-aqh!" 'úniguni, tʊchay'a-u!
say-REM rabbit/s the/s see/IMP-it sudden prairie.dog-PL
he said, Rabbit did… "See it!" (he said); and lo, prairie-dogs!

ká-pa'ay-pʉa-s! ma-ra-pʉ-uu-ni! waghay-kwá-pʉga, 'umʉas-'uru
NEG-measure-REM/NEG-C that-be-NOM-PL-like enter/PL-go-REM 3p/O-that
countless! just like that! They scampered (into their holes)

maay-chi… 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura 'uwas-'uru
see-SUB there-at-it-TOP-be 3s/s-that
as soon as they saw (the two of them)… so then

tavʉchi 'u: "nʉ́' 'íi-pa-khwa-vaa-chi" máy-pʉga-s, 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s-'u,
rabbit/S the/S 1s/s here-DIR-go-IRR-NOM" say-REM-C there-at-go-C-3s
Rabbit (said): "I'll go this-a-way" he said, taking off that way,

supay-pʉga-s[-'u] 'uwas.
leave-REM-C-3s 3s/s
deserting Coyote.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura pʊniyʉ 'ú-'uway maay-pʉga 'uwas: "'ʉ́mʉ-aa…
there-at-it-be skunk/O RED-3s/O see-REM 3s/s 2s/s-Q
Then he (Rabbit) saw Skunk; "Is it you…

'ʉ́mʉ-aa 'ara-'ay kachu-'u 'uway Yoghovʉchi pʉarikya-guu-wa-tʉ?"
2s/s-Q be-IMM NEG-3s 3s/O coyote/O help-SUBJ-NEG-NOM
won't you (please) help that coyote?"

'áy-pʉgay-'u, pʊniyʉ 'uway; "nʉ́-gʉ-s 'ara-'ay… eh… 'ʉmʉy-nugway
say-REM-3s skunk/O the/O 1s-EM-C be-IMM eh 2s-TOP
he asked him, Skunk; "(See), I myself am… eh… you yourself

tʉ́ʉ-'uni-mi… nʉ́-sa ká-pʉchuchugwa-wa…" 'áy-pʉga; "'úvway"
well-do-HAB 1s-EM NEG-know-NEG say-REM alright
are a do-gooder… I just don't know…" he said; "Alright"

máy-pʉga 'uwas 'u pʊniyʉ; kh-'ura pagha-nʉkwi-pʉga
say-REM 3s/s the/s skunk/s then-be go-run-REM
said Skunk; then he took off

'uwa-vaa-chukhwa, kh-'ura maay-pʉgay-'u.
3s/O-at-go then-be see-REM-3s
towards Coyote, and soon he saw him.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'uwas 'uni-pʉga 'uwas: "'agha-ni-vaa-ni-aa
there-at-it-TOP-that 3s/s do-REM 3s/s "WH-do-IRR-FUT-O
Now Skunk started acting up: "Now you watch whatever is going

pʉnikyay-ku!" máy-pʉga 'ú pʊniyʉ, "ma-va-tʉ-'uru
see-it say-REM that/S skunk/S there-at-DIR-that
to happen!" Skunk said, "over there,

'ugwivʉ chʉkʉr'a-nʉ, 'uru i-vee-tʉ-aa-ni, pa'avi-ni, 'umʉ
hay/O cut-IMP that/O here-at-NOM-O-like insect-like those/O
go cut the grass, that one just like here, like insects, like those

'ini-u-kway… múupuvwi'aachi-u nana-sʉti'i-tʉ" máy-pʉga
WH/O-PL-MOD maggot-PL REC-feel-NOM
what-cha-ma-call-em… that resemble maggots" he said;

"'ú-vway-aqh-'uru-rami máy-kh 'uwa-ti-paa-chi" máy-pʉga.
thereat-it-that-2d/IN say-IMM fall-CAUS-IRR-NOM say-REM
"then you and I will make rain" he told Coyote.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'uwa-qarʉ-pʉga, 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru
there-at-in-TOP-that rain-sit-REM there-at-it-TOP-be-that
Then the rain began to settle over, then the clouds rolled in,

'uwa-ti-kya-pʉga, 'uni-pʉgay-ku-amʉ; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'uwa-ti-pʉga,
fall-CAUS-ANT-REM do-REM-it-3p there-at-it-be-that rain-CAUS-REM
the two of them did it; so it became cloudy,

'unu'ni-pagha-pʉga; "'ʉvʉs-'ura, ma-vaa 'avi-gwa!"
thunder-go-REM end-be there-at lie-go/IMP
then the thunder rolled over; "That's it, now hurry and lie down!"

máy-pʉgay-aghay-'u, "'uru-'ura 'íi-pa-'uru… 'ugwivʉ 'ini-kya-tʉ
say-REM-CL-3s that/O-be there-DIR-that grass/O make-PASS-NOM/O
Skunk told Coyote, "and that over here… the grass that was made,

tʉpaa-pa-mʉ̲ 'uni-vee-ni, pʉ'i-naaga-mʉ̲ whchu'mi-'avi-nʉ-'ura,
mouth-DIR-2s do-IRR-FUT eye-in-2s shut.eye-lie-IMP-be
(put it) in your mouth, and in your eyes and lie down with your eyes shut,

'ivichi-'ura 'íi-pa wachʉ-'avi-nʉ" máy-pʉga.
stick/O-be here-DIR put-lie-IMP say-REM
then put (this) stick lying right here this way" he told him.

'uru-sa-'ura wíi-kwa̲… 'umʉ tɵchay'a-u tʉvʉpʉ
that-TOP-be flood-go 3p/G p.dog-PL land/O
Then it started flooding… all over the prairie-dogs' land,

pa'a-'u-naagha̲-tukhwa̲ nu-nukwi-khwa̲; 'úmʉs-'ura-'uru yɵrɵ'a̲-khwa̲,
complete-there-in-go RED-flow-go 3p/s-be-that get.up/PL-go
it flooded completely in there; so the prairie-dogs all got up and ran out,

tʉ́ʉra-rukhwa̲ chi-civu-khwa̲-kwa-vachi-mʉ̲, páa-vay-aqh-'uru
out-go RED-exit/PL-go-ANT-BG-PL water-at-it-that
swimming through the flooding water, through the

kwavi-vɵrɵ-khwa̲-'uru, páa-agha-rukhwa̲… kách-kway…
lie/PL-go-go-that water-have-go NEG-MOD
water… no… they swam with their eyes shut,

whchu'mi-vɵrɵ-kwa-y-'ura, mani-vɵrɵ-kwa-y… 'uwas-'ura-'uru, 'íni̲-kway,
shut.eye-go/PL-go-IMM-be do.like-go/PL-go-IMM 3s/S-be-that WH/S-MOD
doing like this (gesture)… so he, what's-his-name,

Yoghovʉchi̲, kʉrʉki-pachi̲, 'áava̲tʉ-mʉ-aa-s mʉ̲para-pagha-s,
coyote/s get.up-BG big-PL-O-C club-go-C
Coyote, got up, and went around clubbing the big ones, he went about

qo'ay-pagha-pachi̲-umʉ̲; 'uwas tʉgʉvʉ̲-'u 'ina-kwa-pʉ̲ 'uwa-karʉ-vachi̲.
slaughter-go-BG-3s 3s/s friend/s-3s here-go-NOM rain-sit-BG
slaughtering them; while his friend (Skunk) sat out the rain.

máy-pʉga 'uwas: "'íi-pa-kwa pa̲cha'a̲-qa-qha,
say-REM 3s/s here-DIR-go stick-PL-ANT
So then Coyote said: "Here they are stuck this way,

múupuvwi'aachi-u-gwapʉ̲-u"; 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru 'umʉs
maggot-PL-DEFUN-PL there-at-it-TOP-be-that 3p/s
all these dead maggots"; so the two of them sprang into action and

'uni-pʉga, chɵ'wa-pagha-pʉga-amʉ; wíi-tʉ 'uru mani-pʉga-vachi,
do-REM gather-go-REM-3p flood-NOM/S the/S do.like-REM-BG
gathered them; and the flood was seeping down

tʉpagha-pʉga-vachi; 'ú-vway-aqh 'úmʉ-'ura-'uru 'úu-pa-amʉ
seep-REM-BG there-at-it 3p/S-be-that there-DIR-3p
there; then and as the prairie-dogs were lying all over there,

kwavi-khu-'ura, 'ava'na-tʉ-mʉ 'úmʉ qo-qho'ay-vachi-mʉ,
lie/PL-SUB-be many-NOM-PL/O 3p/S RED-slaughter-BG-PL
they had slaughtered so many of them,

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'uni-pʉga-'ura… 'icha-y máy-kya-mi…
there-at-it-TOP-that do-REM-REL-be this-O say-PL-HAB
that's what they had done… this is what they say…

"tu'ma-vaa-ni-rami-s" máy-pʉga 'uwas; napa-y-amʉ
roast-IRR-FUT-2d/IN-C say-REM 3s/S foot-O-3s
"Now let's roast them" said Coyote; their feet

sóɵchi-kya-pʉga; "nana-chigya-vaa-ni-rami-ʉs" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u, 'ú
stick.out-ANT-REM REC-race-IRR-FUT-2d/IN-C say-REM-CL-3s that/S
were sticking out; "And let's race (over them)" he told him,

yʉʉpʉchi… pɵniyʉ 'uway… 'u-vwa-s 'úmʉ 'uni-pʉga.
porcupine/S skunk/O the/O there-at-C 3p/S do-REM
that porcupine… skunk… so then that's what they did.

'uwas 'u pɵniyʉ ka-paghay-chi-wa-tʉ, 'ú pɵnichi…
3s/S the/S skunk/S NEG-walk-NOM-NEG-NOM that/S skunk/S
Now Skunk is not a fast walker, that skunk…

'ú-vway-aqh-'uru sɵniavʉ 'uru kwasi-ma-av pacha'a-ti-pʉga 'uwas:
there-at-it-that cedar.bark/O the/O tail-LOC-OWN stick-CAUS-REM 3s/S
so Coyote stuck some cedar-bark on his tail (and said):

"marʉ-rami-'u pɵtɵ'nichi máa-wagha-tukhwa" máy-pʉga,
that/O-2d/IN-3s hump/O there-around-go say-REM
"Let's (race) around that hump over there" he said,

"mʉi-wʉnʉ-ga-tʉ-sʉ-rami-'ura namu-tʉka-vaa-ni" máy-pʉga-'uru;
lead-stand-PAR-NOM-C-2d/IN-be first-eat-IRR-FUT say-REM-that
"and the one who leads (coming back) will eat first" he said;

'uwas 'u Yoghovʉchi tʉgʉy-naru'a-khwa-kwa-rʉ 'ura-vachi; 'ʉvʉs.
3s/S the/S coyote/S hunger-buy-go-ANT-ADJ be-BG end
that Coyote was sure hungry by then; so that was that.

ˈú-vway-aqh-unuv-ˈuru máy-pʉga… ˈuni-pʉgay-ku-amʉ̲ máy-na-av
there-at-it-TOP-that say-REM do-REM-it-3p say-REL-OWN
So then he said… so they did what Coyote suggested,

ˈuru, nana-chigya-pʉga-amʉ̲; ˈuwas pʊniyʉ̲, ˈi-vee-s tíi
the/O REC-race-REM-3p 3s/S skunk/s here-at high
they raced; and Skunk right up there

páaqhachi-naaghą̲ yʉga-kwa-pʉga, ˈuwas ˈuwa-vaaghą̲ kwą̲si-av
hole/O-it enter-go-REM 3s/S 3s/O-over tail/O-OWN
jumped into a hole, while Coyote ran right over him dragging his tail

piyoghwa-gha-pʉga; ˈúu-pa-s pana-khwa-pʉga ˈú pʊniyʉ̲,
drag-PAR-REM there-DIR return-go-REM that/s skunk/s
(smoking with fire); now Skunk came back that-a-way,

ká-míyh̲-ˈa-pʉ̲ tochayˈa-u ˈumʉ tuˈma-qa-nạ̲,
NEG-far-have/NEG-NOM prairie.dog-PL the/O roast-ANT/PASS-REL-NOM
not far from where the prairie-dogs have been roasting,

ká-miyh̲-ˈa-pʉ̲ ˈura-pʉga; piya-pʉga-amʉ̲ ˈuwas, ˈi-mi-tugwa-amʉ̲
NEG-far-have/NEG-NOM be-REM dig.out-REM-3p 3s/S here-LOC-go
it was not far; so he dug them out and carried them this-a-way,

nʊ́ʊˈwa-pʉga, tʉpʉychi karʉ-rʉ-paa-tukhwą̲.
carry-REM rock/O sit-ADJ-DIR-go
to a tall sitting rock.

ˈáavʉ-ni ˈu-vwaa-tukhwą̲ sʉka-ˈavi-gya ˈu-vwaa-kwa
now-like there-at-go smoke-lie-PAR there-at-go
Now there comes Coyote laying smoke (with his tail)

naˈa-khwa-tukhwą̲ pagha-ˈni: “maay-gupʉ̲ sʊtʊˈna-y-in” máy-pʉga-sʉ-ni,
burn-go-go go-INT/IMM see-SUBJ wish-IMM-1s say-REM-C-like
parading back and forth: “I wish he could see me now” he thought,

“ˈú pʊniyʉ̲…” tʉna-khwa-tʉ pʉnikya[-pʉga]… ˈáaa…
that/s skunk/S forward-go-DIR see-REM INTJ
“that skunk…” then going forward he saw (him)… ˈáaa…

ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-pʉga kwáa-ˈuru tuˈma-qha-paa-na-tukhwą̲,
there-at-go-REM INTJ-that roast-PASS-DIR-REL-go
he went up there to where the prairie-dogs had been roasting,

kwiyaˈa-khwą̲-kwa-pʉ̲… napavi-gyapʉ pivi-khwą̲-kwa-pʉga…
burn-go-PASS-NOM foot-DEFUN pull-go-ANT-REM
and they were all burnt… he pulled out only the useless (charred) legs…

ka-ˈipʉ-ˈa-tʉ̲… ˈú-vway-aqh-unuv-ˈuru ˈθθvi-a-ˈu
NEG-WH/O-have/NEG-NOM there-at-it-TOP-that bone-G-3S
nothing there… it was only their bones that he (Skunk)

magha-pʉay-aghay-ˈu-ˈuru.
feed-REM-CL-3S-that
left for him to eat.[1]

ˈú-vwa-tugwa-sapa̲-ˈura-yi-s-ˈuru; máy-kya-ˈu.
there-at-go-MOD-be-S-IMM-that say-ANT-3S
That's how it went; (this is what) she said.[2]

1. This story is exceptional in the Coyote Cycle, in that Coyote winds up losing, having been outsmarted by Skunk. The story thus resembles the pattern of the Sinawav stories. This may well be the result of a mixup with Sinawav, something that is common and in the Ute oral tradition (see (3), (10), (12) above).

2. Mrs. Cloud was probably referring to her mother. The end of this story is left deliberately un-elaborated. Mrs Cloud was telling this story to supplement the account given just before by her husband, Julius Cloud (16, directly below).

TEXT 16

Hungry Coyote races Skunk for the prairie-dogs

told by: Julius Cloud[1]
date recorded: 9-3-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Neil Cloud, Sunshine Cloud Smith

…tʉka-vaa-chi̱-amu̱ 'asti-pʉga; kh-'ura 'uwas: "'uni-nʉ-amu̱-'ara"
eat-IRR-NOM-3p want-REM then-be 3s/s do-IMP-3p-be
'…he (Coyote) wanted to eat them; so he (Skunk said): "Go ahead,

máy-pʉga; 'íi-pa-'uru 'u-vwaa wáa'wi-chi̱ múupʉvwiaachi-ni
say-REM here-DIR-that there-at stand-NOM maggot/O-like
do them (like this)" he said; well right there was standing (plants) resembling

na̱sʉti'i̱-tu̱; 'íi-pa pa-pacha'a̱-wi̱-ti-pʉga; máy-kya-pʉga-amu̱ 'uwas:
resemble-NOM here-DIR RED-stick-??-CAUS-REM say-ANT-REM-3p 3s/s
maggots; so right there Coyote (took them and) stuck them (to his eyes);
Skun had told them (the prairie-dogs):

"tʉvʉchi̱ ya'ay-kwa̱-khay-ku̱-'u, 'iyavagha-qaa-na̱-amu̱-'u" máy-pʉga;
very dead-go-ANT-EM-3s fear-PL-REL-3p-3s say-REM
"He's quite dead, the one you are afraid of" he said; "Is it really true, what

"tʉvʉchi-sapa̱-'ara[-aa] 'áy-kh̲?" [máy-kya-pʉga 'umʉs-'uru]; "'ʉʉ";
true-MOD-be-Q say-IMM say-PL-REM 3p/s-that yes
you're saying?" they asked him; "Yes" (he said); so (one of them) went to

pʉnikya-khwa-pʉgay-'u, 'u-vwaa-'ura 'avi-pʉga: "tʉvʉchi-sapa-n 'áy-kh̲,
see-go-REM-3s there-at-be lie-REM true-MOD-1s say-IMM
look at Coyote, and he was lying there: "It is true I tell you, he is indeed lying

1. The beginning of this story is missing; see Mollie Cloud's account (15), above.

'u-vwaa-na-kʉ 'avi, múupʉvwiaa-rį̲-kwa-pʉ̲"; 'úu-pa-pʉga…
there-at-LOC-EM lie/IMM maggot-do-go-NOM there-DIR-REM
right there, covered with maggots"; then he went that-a-way… they did…

'uwas-'ura… 'uni-kya-pʉga-s… nhka-vaa-chi-mʉ̲ sų̲-suparą̲-pʉga-s.
3s/s-be do-PL-REM-C dance/PL-IRR-NOM-PL RED-gather-REM-C
so they (the prairie-dogs) gathered to dance together (to celebrate

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwa-ti-pʉga, 'ų̲-'uwa-khwa-pʉga,
there-at-it-be rain-CAUS-REM RED-rain-go-REM
Coyote's demise). Then clouds gathered, and it started raining,

pa-vaya-khwa-pʉga, 'umʉ-'ura pa'a-qo-qhoy'ą̲-khwą̲-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs,
water-side-go-REM 3p/O-be complete-RED-slaughter-go-REM end
it flooded with water, and the (prairie-dogs) were all slaughtered;

toghoy-kwa-pʉga, 'ʉvʉs-pʉga, tʊchay'a-u-gwapʉ-mʉ̲ máa-pa
good-go-REM end-REM prairie-dog-PL-DEFUN-PL there-DIR
well, it was good, that was that, the poor dead prairie-dogs

kwa-khwavį̲-pʉga.
RED-lie/PL-REM
were all lying all over there.

'u-vwa-tugwa-s tʉgay-pʉga-amʉ̲ 'umʉs… 'uway pʊniyʉ-wa
there-at-go-C gather-REM-3p 3p/s 3s/O skunk/O-with
So Coyote gathered them (the dead prairie-dogs), and with Skunk

'i-mi-tugwa-amʉ̲-'ura nʊ́ʊ'wa-pʉga: "tʉka-khwa-vaa-ni-ramį̲-ʉs"
here-LOC-go-3p-be carry-REM eat-go-IRR-FUT-2d/IN-C
he carried them over: "We're going to eat now" he said;

máy-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-amʉ̲-'ura karʉ-khwą̲-pʉga: "'á-agha?" máy-pʉga…
say-REM there-at-3p-be sit-go-REM WH/S-have say-REM
and right there the two of them sat down: "Who is there?" Coyote said…

"'áavʉ̲-'ura nana-chigya-khwa-paa-ni-ramį̲-ʉs, kwá'ą̲-u-tʉ-s-amʉ̲
now-be REC-race-go-IRR-FUT-2d/IN-C win-INC-C-3p
"Now we're going to race, and the winner is going

[namu-]tʉka-vaa-ni" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; kách 'uwas… ka-'iyavagha-pʉa
first-eat-IRR-FUT say-REM-C 3s/s BEG-3s/s NEG-fear-REM/NEG
to eat first" he said; he wasn't… he wasn't afraid

ˈuwas; “ˈúvway” máy-pʉga ˈú pənivʉ, ˈuway máy-pʉga: “toghoy”.
3s/s say-REM that/s skunk/s 3s/o say-REM good/IMM
(of losing); “Alright” said Skunk, he told him: “Good”.

ˈuwas: “máa-pa tʉvway-paa-ni, ma-vay-sapa qhaqharʉ-nʉ
3s/s there-DIR descend-IRR-FUT there-at-MOD run-IMP
Then he (Coyote said): “We’ll go down that-a-way, then run

máa-pa ˈuni-ˈa-paa-ni, marʉ karʉ-rʉ [pətəˈnichi] máa-wagha-tukhwa
there-DIR do-??-IRR- that/o sit-ADJ/o [knoll/o] there-around-go
that-a-way, around that sitting (hump) and coming

pi-pichʉ-vaa-ni; ˈáa-sapa kwáˈa-u-khwa-paa-ni” máy-pʉga, “kwá…
RED-arrive-IRR-FUT WH/S-MOD win-INC-go-IRR-FUT say-REM win…
back; and whoever will win” he said, “(the) win(ner)…

mamʉas paˈa-manu-khu magúˈna-kyay-amʉ, tʉka-vaa-ni-amʉ”
3p/o complete-all-o pile-PASS-3p eat-IRR-FUT-3p
will eat all of the piled up (prairie-dogs) there”

máy-pʉga; ˈuwas-ˈura naˈa-ti-pʉga, qoməˈna-ta-qha-pʉga…
say-REM 3s/s-be fire-CAUS-REM roast-PASS-ANT-REM
he said; so then he (Coyote?) made a fire and roasted them…

[Here a previous segment is repeated]

…ˈu-vwa-s ˈumʉs ˈáy-kya… təchaˈa-u-gwapʉ kwíni-kya-pʉga;
there-at-C 3p/s say-PL… prairie.dog-PL-DEFUN/S lie/PL-ANT-REM
…then they said… the prairie-dogs were lying there in a heap;

ˈuwas-ˈura naˈa-khwa-tukhwa pagha-ˈni-pʉga, yoghovʉchi; ˈuwa-saa-ˈura
3s/s-be back-go-go go-INT-REM coyote/s 3s/s-TOP-be
and he was pacing back and forth there, Coyote was; so Skunk

máa-pa tʉvway-pʉga… “máa-vay-ˈura qhaqharʉ-nʉ” máy-pʉga,
there-DIR descend-REM there-at-be run-IMP” say-REM
came down there too… “We should run that way” Coyote said,

“ˈuni-ˈa-paa-ni, karʉ-rʉ marʉ máa-wagha-tukhwa” máy-pʉga ˈuwas;
do-??-IRR-FUT sit-ADJ/o that/o there-around-go say-REM 3s/s
“we’ll do it, around that sitting (hump)” he said; “Alright” said Skunk,

“ˈúvway” máy-pʉga ˈuwas, máa-pa tʉvway-pʉga ˈuwas
alright say-REM 3s/s there-DIR descend-REM 3s/s
and he went down there to where they were going to do it (run),

'uni-kya-vaa[-na]-tʉ, 'u-vway qhaqharʉ-pʉga; míichi-'ura 'u-vway
do-ANT-IRR-REL-DIR there-at run-REM little-be there-at
and he started running; but he ran just a bit,

qhaqharʉ-pʉga, kách-'ura qhaqharʉ-pʉa, ka-pa'a-tukhwa qhaqharʉ-pʉa,
run-REM NEG-be run-REM/NEG NEG-long-go run-REM/NEG
he didn't really run, he didn't run long,

'u-vwaa-s-'ura 'áagha-múusi-u-pʉga.
there-at-C-be quiet-hide-INC-REM
but he quietly hid himself.

pina-kwa-'ura, 'uwas ka-sogho-rʉgay-kya-pʉa, 'uwas
follow-go-be 3s/s NEG-ready-become-ANT-REM/NEG 3s/s
Well later on, Coyote had been procrastinating,

mani-gya…: "pʊniyʉ… nʉ́-'ura-kway… 'ú-'uway…
do.like-PAR skunk/s 1s/s-be-MOD RED-3s/O
doing like this… "Skunk…. I… him…

ká-kwáa-khwa-wa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-'ay" máy-pʉga; 'u-vwaa mani-pʉga,
NEG-run-go-NEG-NOM-AN be-IMM say-REM there-at do.like-REM
he is not much of a runner" he thought; so he did like this there,

pina-khwa-'ura sʊnʉvʉ mani-pʉga, kh-'ura na'a-ti-pʉgay-ku,
follow-go-be cedar.bark/O do.like-REM then-be fire-CAUS-REM-it
then he did like this with cedar-bark, then he set it on fire,

kwasi-ma-av kh-'ura na'a-ti-pʉga, qhaqharʉ-pʉga; mmmm…
tail/O-LOC-OWN then-be fire-CAUS-REM run-REM INTJ
he set his tail on fire, then he took off running; mmmm…

pʉnikya-pʉga… mani-kya-pʉga.
see-REM do.like-ANT-REM
he saw… he did like this (gesture).

['uwas-'ura pʊniyʉ] pʉ́ka-vaqhay-kya-pʉga, ['uwas-'ura Yoghovʉchi]
3s/s-be skunk/s very-hide-ANT-REM 3s/s-be coyote/s
Well Skunk had hidden himself very well, so (when Coyote came running)

chaghachi-vaa-chʉ tavi-pʉga, kwasi-vaa-tʉ-'u kwíi-'avi-pʉga,
near-at-DIR step-REM tail/O-at-NOM-3s smoke-lie-REM
he stepped very close (to him), and his tail was trailing smoke,

káasʉ-pani-'uru máy-gya; kh-'ura 'uwa-pa qhaqharʉ-pʉga, narʉvʉ
train-like-that say-REM then-be 3s/O-DIR run-REM still
just like a train; then he ran past Skunk, still

mani-khwa-pʉga, ['uwas-'ura] kachu-'u maay-pʉa, paqhay-kyay-kʉ-'u,
do.like-go-REM 2s/s-be NEG-3s see-REM/NEG hide-ANT-SUB-3s
doing like this (trailing smoke), he didn't see (Skunk), having hidden

pʉ́ka-vaqhay-kya-pʉga 'uwas; 'íii… yáakwi-kya-'u.
well-hide-ANT-REM 3s/s INTJ disappear-ANT-3s
himself, Skunk had hidden himself well; 'íii… Coyote disappeared.

[kh-'ura 'uwas] tíi wʉnʉ-kwa-pʉga, kh-'ura 'umʉ
then-be 3s/s high stand-go-REM then-be 3p/O
So then Skunk got up, and those roasted (prairie-dogs),

tu'ma-qha-tʉ-mʉ, 'umʉs 'ura-pʉga, kʉchapʉ-naaghʉ; mani-pʉga-amʉ,
roast-PASS-NOM-PL/O 3p/s be-REM ash-in do.like-REM-3p
they were, in the ashes; so he did like this (gesture) with them,

pa'a-kusʉ-khwʉ-kwa-pʉga; nó-nóʊ'wʉ-pʉga-amʉ máa-pa
very-cook-go-PASS-REM RED-carry-REM-3p there-DIR
they were very well cooked; then he carried them that-a-way up the hill,

wʉga-ma-tukhwʉ, tʉpʉychi-vwa-nʉ-amʉ-'ura 'u-vwaa-tukhwʉ
hill-LOC-go rock/O-at-LOC-3p-be there-at-go
and piled them up there on a rock,

magu'nʉ-pʉga, pa'a-manu-khʉ; 'úu-pa-s-'ura-'uru kwʉsi-amʉ
pile.up-REM complete-all-O there-DIR-C-be-that tail-3p
all of them; and right there he stood them up together by their tails,

nana-wʉnʉ-ti-pʉga, púupa-amʉ-'uru tu'ma-qhay-kya-nʉ.
REC-stand-CAUS-REM way-3p-that roast-PL-PASS-REL
just the way they had been roasted.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas 'u-vwaaaa-tukhwʉ káasʉ-pani 'uwas
there-at-it-be 3s/s there-at-go train/O-like 3s/s
At long last Coyote appeared there (smoking) like a train,

mawisʉ-pʉga, mani-pʉga, kutupʉ-a-tʉ-av yaghaa-pʉnikya-pʉga;
appear-REM do-like-REM butt/O-G-NOM-OWN sideways-see-REM
looking like this (gesture) sideways at his own butt;

'u-vwaa-tʉ 'íi-pa qhʉqharʉ-pʉga, 'íi-pa ma-vaa-tʉ
there-at-DIR here-DIR run-REM here-DIR there-at-DIR
he ran that-a-way, and he stop right there,

tʉrʉsʉ-kwʉ-pʉga, pana-khwʉ-kwa-pʉga; "ká-'iya-na-wa 'áaa"
stop-go-REM return-go-ANT-REM NEG-here-be-NEG INTJ
having come all the way back; "He's not (yet) here 'áaa"

máy-pʉga, "'agha-vaa-s 'icha-n[2] 'uwa-paa-'u?" máy-púga,
say-REM WH-at-C this/O-1s 3s/O-DIR-3s say-REM
he said, "where could I have passed him?" he said,

"'uwa-paa-u-khwa-tʉ-ni sʉti'i".
3s/O-DIR-INC-go-NOM-like seem/IMM
"it seems like I must have passed him".

'uwaa-'ura 'u-vwaa krarʉ-pʉga, nʉka-gharʉ-pʉgay-kʉ máy-kh;
3s/S there-at sit-REM hear-sit-REM-SUB say-IMM
But Skunk was sitting there all along, sitting and listening, that is;

'uwas-'ura wʉnʉ-pʉga, tuu-sʊ'a-khwa-pʉgaa-ni; [kh-'ura] máy-pʉga:
3s/S-be stand-REM hard-breath-go-REM-like then-be say-REM
and Coyote was standing there breathing hard; and he said:

"'aghaa-va-s 'icha-na 'uwa-paa-'u?"
WH-at-C this/O-LOC him/O-DIR-3s
"Where was it that I passed him?"

pina-khwa-'ura tʉka-khwa-vaa-chi 'uwas, tʊcha'ay-u
follow-go-be eat-go-IRR-NOM 3s/S prairied.dog/O-PL
So in the end Coyote (decided) to go and eat,

tʉka-khwa-vaa-chi, náavas; pina-khwa-'ura mani-gya-s pʉnikya-pʉga[y-'u],
eat-go-IRR-NOM alone follow-go-be do.like-PAR-C see-REM-3s
go eat the prairie-dogs, alone; then doing like this (gesture of craning head)

'u-vwaa tíi karʉ-pʉga… pʊniyʉ… 'u-vwaa tíi karʉ-pʉga,
there-at high sit-REM skunk/s there-at high sit-REM
he saw him, sitting high there… Skunk… sitting high up there,

wʉgaa-ma, pʉni-kyarʉ-pʉga; "'agha-ni-chaa-n kwáa-'u?" máy-pʉga,
hill-LOC look-sit-REM WH-do-INC-1s win-3s say-REM
on the hill, sitting and watching; "How did you beat me?" Coyote asked,

"'ʉmʉ-na-kway piyaa ká-kwáa-wa-tʉ-mʉ-sapa 'ura-qa" máy-pʉga
2s/O-??-MOD remain(?) NEG-run-NEG-NOM-AN-MOD be-ANT say-REM
"you have never been a fast runner" he said;

'uwas; "'ura-yi-nʉ-s!" máy-pʉga, tʉka-gharʉ-pʉga; ['uwas-'ura] "'úvway"
3s/S be-IMM-1s say-REM eat-sit-REM 3s/S-be alright
"I am too!" said Skunk, sitting up there and eating; (so Coyote said): "Alright"

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2. The correct animate form here should have been *'inay-in*.

máy-pʉga, “pana-khwa nʉ́nay-gya 'ʊʊvʉ-chi-sapa̲, 'ini-a-sapa̲
say-REM return-go 1s/O-TOP bone/O-DIM-MOD WH-O-MOD
he said, “would you please throw me back some little bones,

cha̲-chawʉna-kʉ, 'uru ka-tʉka-pʉa[-na]-mʉ̲”.
RED-throw/IMP-BEN that/O NEG-eat-REM/NEG-REL-2s
whatever you have not yet eaten”.

'uru 'ʊʊvʉ-gapʉ cha̲-chaa'mi̲-puga 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲; 'úvway
that/O bone-DEFUN RED-throw-REM 3s/O-at-go alright
So Skunk threw the leftover bones to Coyote; and so

'uwayas tʉkapi tʉka-qhay-kʉ̲, yoghovʉchi kwáa-khwa̲… kwáay-kwa-ta;
3s/G food/O eat-ANT-SUB coyote/O win-go win-go-PASS
(with Skunk) having eaten all the food, Coyote beat… was beaten;

máy-kya-'ura, 'ú-'ʉ̲ru-sapa̲ 'ura-'ay.
say-PL-be RED-that/O-MOD be-IMM
that’s what they say, that’s how it was.

TEXT 17

Hungry Coyote, Rabbit, and the white-man's chicken

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas-'ura tavʉchi̱ 'u, tʉgʉy-naru'a̱-khwa̱-kwa-na[-pʉga]…
3s/s-be rabbit/s the/s hunger-buy-go-ANT-HAB-REM
There was Rabbit, he used to go hungry…

'áyʉ-máy… Yoghovʉchi̱ ['ura-pʉga]... tʉgʉy-naru'a̱-khwa̱-kwa-na-pʉga;
??-say coyote/s be-REM hunger-buy-go-ANT-HAB-REM
oops… it was Coyote… he used to go hungry all the time;

'uwas-aqh-'ura 'uway tavʉchi-vaa-chugwa-pʉga, kh-'ura-'uru
3s/s-it-be 3s/O rabbit/O-at-go-REM then-be-that
so he went over to Rabbit, and

máy-pʉgay-'u: "nʉ́-kʉ tʉgʉvʉ-n tʉgʉy-naru'a̱-khwa̱-kwa" máy-pʉgay-'u;
say-REM-3s 1s/s-EM friend-1s hunger-buy-go-ANT say-REM-3s
he told him: "My friend, I've been going hungry" he told him;

"'ʉʉ" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, tavʉchi̱ 'u; "nʉ́-kʉ pu̱chuchugwa-mi
yes say-REM-be 3s/s rabbit/s the/s 1s/s-EM know-HAB
"Yes" said Rabbit; "Now, I know that

'uway mʉrʉkachi kani̱ qha̱qhaarʉ-vuku-u-gwa-tʉ̱-'uru" 'áy-pʉga;
3s/G white.man/G house/s chicken-pet-PL-have-NOM-that say-REM
in the house of that Whiteman there are pet chicken" he said;

"mʉrʉkachi̱ 'u qha̱qhaarʉ-vuku-u-gwa-tʉ̱, togho-'aka-gha-rʉ
white-man/s the/s ckicken-pet-PL-have-NOM right-red-have-ADJ/O
"that Whiteman has pet chicken, they are red-eyed,

pʉ-pʉ'i-gya-tʉ-mʉ̲-'ura, 'umʉ qha̲qhaarʉchi-u" máy-pʉga; "nʉ́-kʉ
RED-eye-have-NOM-PL-be those/O chicken-PL say-REM 1S/S-EM
those thicken" he said; "Now I myself wander around there often"

'u-vwaa pagha-'ni-mi" máy-pʉga; 'úu-pa-amʉ̲-'ura págha̲-kwa-pʉga.
there-at go-INT-HAB say-REM there-DIR-3P-be go-go-REM
he said; so the two of them took off that-a-way.

"tava-yaakwi̲-ku̲-rami̲-ʉs 'uni-'a-vaa-ni" máy-pʉga [tavʉchi̲ 'u],
sun-sink-SUB-2D/IN-C do-??-IRR-FUT say-REM rabbit/S the/S
"We will do it when the sun sets" said Rabbit,

"'úmʉ̲ qha̲qharʉchi-u yugwi-vaa-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-'ay" máy-pʉga, "'u-vwaa-cawi̲
3P/S chicken-PL sit/PL-IRR-NOM-PL be-IMM say-REM there-at-go
"those chicken will settle down then" he said, "so let's proceed toward

mʉrʉkachi kani-vaa-chawi̲" máy-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'uwayas
white.man/G house/O-at-go/IMP say-REM there-at-it-TOP-that 3S/O
the Whitman's house" he said; and then he led

chika-khwa-pʉga 'uwas.
lead-go-REM 3S/S
Coyote (there).

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'u-vwaa-tugwa-pʉga-amʉ̲,
there-at-it-be there-at-go-REM-3P
So the two of them went there,

qha̲qhaarʉ-gani-vaa-tukhwa̲; tʉvʉchi-sapa-ni qha̲qhaarʉchi-aagha-tʉ̲
chicken-house/O-at-go true-MOD-like chicken/O-have-NOM
to the chicken coop; and sure enough there were chicken there;

'ura-pʉga; kh-'ura chawʉ'na-pʉgay-khu̲-amʉ̲, kh-'ura
be-REM then-be open-REM-it-3P then-be
so they opened it, and they

pa̲qha-ti-pʉgay-ku̲-amʉ̲, 'úniguni 'aka-gha-rʉ-mʉ̲
break-CAUS-REM-it-3P sudden red-have-ADJ/S
broke in, and lo, they sure were

pʉ-pʉ'i-gya-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga.
RED-eye-have-NOM-PL/S be-REM
(chickens) with red eyes.

"'ʉvʉs-'ura, má-náagha̲ yʉ́kha̲, 'umʉ-aa-tʉ-'ura piyoghwa-nʉ"
end-be there-in enter/IMP 3P/O-G-PAR-be pull-IMP
"Good, now go in there, pull some of them out"

máy-pʉgay-'u-'ura, "nʉ́' 'áy-kʉ̲-'ura pʉni-wʉnʉ-vaa-chi̲" máy-vachi̲-'ura
say-REM-3s-be 1s/s say-SUB-be look-stand-IRR-NOM say-BG-be
Rabbit told Coyote, "while I will stand watch" said that

'ú tavʉchi̲; "'ʉmʉ-nugway-kʉ̲ nʉ́nay tuwa-khwa-paa-chi̲ má-náaghạ̲?"
that/s rabbit/s 2s/G-TOP-SUB 1s/O lock-go-IRR-NOM there-in
rabbit; "So that you may lock me in there?"

máy-pʉga-s 'uwas 'u yoghovʉchi̲; "kách" máy-pʉga-'ura
say-REM-C 3s/s the/s coyote/s NEG say-REM-be
said Coyote; "No" said Rabbit,

'uwas "túsapa-nʉ 'úni̲" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; 'uwas-'ura túsapa-ni
3s/s hurry-IMP do/IMP say-REM-be 3s/s 3s/s-be hurry-like
"hurry and do it" he said; so Coyote hurriedly went in there;

'ú-naaghạ̲ yʉga-khwa-pʉga; 'anʉ 'ú-náaghạ̲ tugwa-khwạ̲-kway-khʉ̲,
there-in enter-go-REM just there-in go-go-ANT-SUB
well as soon as he had gone in there,

'uwas-'ura tuwa-khwạ̲-pachi̲-ukh, pana-tuwa-khwạ̲-pachi̲-ukh.
3s/s-be lock-go-BG-it metal-lock-go-BG-it
Rabbit locked it (the door), he locked it with a metal lock.

'u-vwaa-yis 'uwas 'ú-náaghạ̲ 'uni-vachi̲, 'umʉ qhạ̲qhaarʉchi-u
there-at-C 3s/s there-in do-BG 3p/G chicken-PL
So there was Coyote in there (locked in the dark), while all those

yʊrʊ-khwạ̲-kwa-vachi-mʉ̲, pạ̲-páaqha-pʊrʊ-kʉ̲-amʉ̲; 'uwas-'ura tavʉchi̲…:
cry-PL-go-BG-PL RED-scream-go/PL-SUB-3p 3s/s-be rabbit/s
chickens were running and screaming; and Rabbit…:

"Hé, hé, hé…" sʉ̲-sukwi-pʊrʊ-kwa-vachi̲; 'uwa mʉrʉkachi
INTJ RED-whistle-go-go-BKGR 3s/G white.man/G
"Heh-heh-heh" he kept hopping around and whistling; and he ran to the

kani-mạ̲-tugwa-pachi̲-'u, máy-kʉ-u-pachi-s: "'uwa-na yoghovʉchi̲
house/O-LOC-go-BG-3s say-BEN-INC-BG-C 3s/O-LOC coyote/s
Whiteman's house and told him: "There he is Coyote

kani-aa-mʉ̲!… qhạ̲qhaarʉchi-vuku-u-amʉ̲ 'ini-kh̲!" máy-vachi̲-'u.
house-G-2s chicken-pet-PL-3p do-IMM say-BG-3s
(in) your house!… He is doing (devouring) your chickens!" he told him.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'avatʉ nʉkavi-gya-tʉ-mʉ
there-at-it-be 3s/s-that big/O ear/O-have-NOM-PL/O
Well now, he had two long-eared

sari-vuku-gwa-tʉ 'ura-vachi, 'ú mʉrʉkachi; 'úu-pa
dog-pet-have-NOM be-BG that/s white.man/s there-DIR
dogs, that White-Man; so he

qhaqhaarʉ-pachi… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… pʉni… 'anʉ chawʉ'na-qha[y-kʉ]-'u,
run-BG INTJ see just open-ANT-SUB-3s
ran over there… 'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… see… and just as he opened the door,

'uwas yoghovʉchi 'úu-pa-s túu-pachi náaaa… sarichi-u
3s/s coyote/s there-DIR-C leap-BG INTJ dog-PL
Coyote leaped out of there náaaa… and the dogs went

'uni-miya-khwa-vachi-mʉ… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… kachu-'u
do-go-go-BG-PL INTJ NEG-3s
chasing (after him)… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… but they

wa-wachu-wʉnʉ-wa-tʉ-mʉ…
RED-overtake-stand-NEG-NOM-PL
couldn't catch up with him…

'uway-'ura [tavʉchi]: "tʉvʉchi 'átʉ ta'wachi 'ʉ́mʉ 'ura-'ay"
3s/O-be rabbit/O very good man you/s be-IMM
Now Rabbit (was told by the Whiteman): "You are a very good man"

máy-ta-vachi-'u, "máy-'u-tʉ" máy-ta-vachi-'u; tʉvʉchi
say-PASS-BG-3s say-3s-NOM say-PASS-BG-3s very
he was told, "for telling on him" he was told; (the White-Man)

pʉki-ta-vachi-'u 'uway, ka-tʉsu'a-wa-tʉ-mʉ máy-gya-'u.
grateful-PASS-BKGR-3s NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN say-PAR-3s
was very grateful to him, he was not very smart, they say (about) him.[1]

'u-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-'ura 'ura-'ay-'uru; 'ú-'ura-'uru
there-at-go-MOD-be be-IMM-that 3s-be-that
Well that's as far as this one goes; that one

ká-'ay-wa-tʉ-mʉ-sapa 'ura-'ay, 'ú tavʉchi; 'uway mʉrʉkachi
NEG-good-NEG-NOM-AN-MOD be-IMM that/s rabbit/s 3s/G white.man/G
is a bad one, that Rabbit; he used to always go and eat the Whiteman's

káavachi 'ʉa-y-aa[-'u] tʉka-khwa-rʉ 'ura-pʉga; 'ʉa-'napʉ 'úru-'uru
cabbage/G plant-O-G-3s eat-go-ADJ be-REM trap-INST that-that/O
cabbage plants; the Whiteman used to put traps over

1. From this point on, the story-teller veers off, switching to another story – about Rabbit, who turns out to be just as wily, malevolent and successful as Coyote.

'uwas 'úu-pa yuna-na-pʉga-s cha'a-vaa-chi-'u… pina-khwa̲-'ura
3s/s there-DIR put-HAB-REM-C catch-IRR-NOM-3s follow-go-be
there in order to catch him… finally

ca'ay-kwa̲-pʉgay-'u, 'uway tavʉchi… 'únigun̲i-'ura tavʉch̲i
catch-go-REM-3s 3s/O rabbit/O sudden-be rabbit/s
he caught him, that Rabbit… and indeed it was Rabbit

'uni-na-pʉga[-tʉ̲], 'ʉ́a-y-aa-'u pa'a-su̲-súwa-kwa-na-pʉga.
do-HAB-REM-NOM plant-O-G-3s complete-RED-devour-HAB-REM
who did it, he totally devoured his (the Whiteman's) plants.

'ʉvʉs-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh cha'a-ta-vach̲i-'u, ta̲kwi'ni-ta-vach̲i-'u;
end-be there-at-it catch-PASS-BG-3s remove-PASS-BG-3s
Well then one time he got caught, and removed (from the trap);

na'ay'a-vach̲i 'uwa-aagha-va̲ 'ú mʉrʉkach̲i, tavʉchi 'uway; 'úu-pa-s-'u
angry-BG 3s/O-over-LOC 3s/s white.man/s rabbit/O 3s/O there-dir-C-3s
he sure was mad at him, that Whiteman, at Rabbit; so here's

'uni-'wa-ta-vach̲i-'u, kʉtupʉ-aa-'u panaqarʉ chʉʉ'ni-ki-ta-vach̲i;
do-??-PASS-BG-3s butt-GEN-3s metal/O insert-??-PASS-BG
what he did, he inserted a metal rod up his butt;

"kachi-n nʉ́nay paqha-vaa-'wa-tʉ̲!" máy-vach̲i 'uwas; 'ú-'u̲ni-sapa̲
NEG-1s 1s/O kill-IRR-NEG-NOM say-BG 1s/s RED-do-MOD
"Please don't kill me!" Rabbit pleaded; that Whiteman was telling him

manu-khu̲-tʉ máy-vachi-s-'u 'ú mʉrʉkach̲i; "['uru] 'u̲-'uni-gya-na̲
all-O-NOM/O say-BG-C-3s that/s white.man/s that/O RED-do-PAR-REL
all the things he was going to do to him; "What you (propose) doing (to me)

paqha-khwa̲-paa-ni" máy-pʉga [tavʉch̲i 'u].
kill-go-IRR-FUT say-REM rabbit/s the/s
would surely kill me" said Rabbit.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru: "'ʉ́avʉ-mʉ̲-'ura[-aa] nʉ́nay
there-at-it-be-that now-2s-be-Q 1s/O
Then finally (Rabbit asked): "You're not going to kill me now, are you?"

ka-pa̲qha-vaa-'wa-tʉ̲?" máy-pʉay-agha-vachi-s yáa'wa̲-ta-vach̲i-'u; "'ʉ́avʉ̲
NEG-kill-IRR-NEG-NOM say-REM-CL-BG-C carry-PASS-BG-3s now
he said as he was being carried away (by the Whiteman); "Now I'm going

'ʉmʉas-'ura paya-na̲-pawi̲ wʉna-paa-ni 'uru wʉ-wʉchaa-ri-chi-mʉ̲"
2s/O-be side-LOC-go.off throw-IRR-FUT that/O RED-twist-do-NOM-2s
to pitch you off the cliff-side so that you get all twisted out of shape"

máy-ta-vachi̲-'u; "'ú-vway-aqh-khwa̲-sapa-ni ya'ay-kwa-vaa-ni" máy-vachi-s
say-PASS-BG-3s there-at-it-go-MOD-like die-go-IRR-FUT say-BG-C
the Whiteman was told; "well it appears I will surely die" said

'uwas tavʉchi̲, "'uru mani-kwa-n-'uru paya-na̲-pawi!" máy-pʉga;
3s/s rabbit/s that/o do.like-go-1s-that side-LOC-go.off say-REM
Rabbit, "you go ahead and do it then (throw me) off the cliff!" said

yagha-paghay-pʉga; "'áavʉ̲-sʉ-mʉ̲-'ura 'i-vee-tugwa-mi̲ paya-na̲-pawi̲
cry-go-REM now-C-2s-be here-at-go-LOC side-LOC-go.off
Rabbit; he kept crying; "Well now I will throw you off the cliff"

wʉna-kwa̲-vaa-ni" máy-pʉgay-'u, 'uni-pʉay-aghay-'u; 'ʉ́ʉʉʉ…
throw-go-IRR-FUT say-REM-3s do-REM-CL-3s INTJ
the Whiteman told him, and he did it to him; 'ʉ́ʉʉʉ…

náavas 'u[ra]-pʉga, 'ú tavʉchi̲ tavi-'ni-vichʉ-kwa-pʉga; 'éeee…
in.vain be-REM that/s rabbit/S step-INT-arrive-go-REM INTJ
But it was all in vain, that Rabbit landed safely on his feet; 'éeee…

mʉrʉkachi̲ 'u ká-tʉsu'a̲-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲… ['uwas-'ura tavʉchi̲]
white.man/s the/s NEG-smart-NEG-NOM-AN 3s/s-be rabbit/s
that White-Man wasn't very smart…

qha̲qhaaru̲-kwa-pʉga.
run-go-REM
and Rabbit ran away.

máy-kya-ta-miya-s-'ura… pʉsariniya-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲…
say-PL-PASS-HAB-C-be story.tell-PL-NOM-PL
That's what they say… the story-tellers…

'áy-kya-nʉ-s-'ura-sapa̲.
say-ANT-1s-C-be-MOD
I have spoken.

TEXT 18

Coyote and the rock children

told by: Mollie B. Cloud[1]
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Neil Cloud
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas kh-'ura-pʉga yoghovʉchi, 'ʊa-táa-gha-pʉga kh-'ura;
3s/s then-be-REM coyote/s yellow-shirt-have-REM then-be
There was Coyote, he had a yellow shirt then; so once he took off

'úu-pa-pʉga kh-'ura… pá-gúaa-rukhwa̲; 'ʊa-táa-gha-tʉ-'u,
there-DIR-REM then-be water-edge-go yellow-shirt-have-NOM-3s
that-a-way (gesture)… along the edge of the water; he had a yellow shirt,

mogoyvʉ-ráa-gha-pʉga, 'ʊa-táa-gha-pʉga; 'úu-pa-pʉga kh-ura
buckskin-shirt-have-REM yellow-shirt-have-REM there-DIR-REM then-be
a buckskin shirt, a yellow shirt; so he went high that-a-way…

tíi… tíi 'uni-'ni-pʉga; 'í-vee-ni núuchi-u, yugwi-pʉga,
high high do-INT-REM here-at-like person-PL sit/PL-REM
he was wandering about high; and right there some people were sitting,

péy-ni, tʉpʉychi tuachi-u.
three-s rock/G child-PL
three of them, rock children.

'umʉ-vwaa-chugwa-pʉga kh-'ura, 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s-'ura
3p/O-at-go-REM then-be there-at-go-be
So he approached them then, and right there

'umʉ-vaa-chukhwa̲ sʉ̲'i-pʉga: "'ipʉ-amʉ̲-'uru
3p/O-at-go urinate-REM WH/O-2p-that
he urinated on them; "What does

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1. In this story, Coyote pays for his mischief and is not the winner.

'ivi-ti-mi pía-chi-mʉ̲?" 'áy-pʉga-amʉ̲, sʉ̲'i-vachi̲
drink-CAUS-HAB mother-NOM-PL/S say-REM-3p urinate-BG
your mother let you drink?" he asked them, (as) he was peeing on them,

'umʉ-vwaa-chukhwa̲; "nʉ́-amʉ̲-aa ka-'ivi-ti-guu-'wa-tʉ̲?"
3p-at-go 1s-2p-Q NEG-drink-CAUS-SUBJ-NEG-NOM
"Shouldn't I let you drink too?"

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'umʉ-vwaa-chukhwa̲ sʉ̲'i-pʉga 'uwas,
there-at-it-be-that 3p/O-at-go pee-REM 3s/S
So right there he urinated on them, he urinated at them

'umʉ-pa-tukhwa̲ sʉ̲'i-pʉga kʉ-páaqha-kʉ̲-amʉ̲… tʉpʉychi 'uway
3p/O-DIR-go peee-REM mouth-open-SUB-3p rock/G the/G
while they (took it) with open mouth… the rock's

tuachi-u… pina-khwa̲-'ura págha̲-kwa-pʉga, 'uni-'wh-chi-mʉ̲.
child-PL follow-go-be go-go-REM do-??-SUB-PL
children… well finally he took off, having done it to them.

pina-khwa̲ pichʉ-pʉga pía-amʉ̲: "'agha-ni-[gy]a-amʉ̲ kwa̲-kwána-y?"
follow-go arrive-REM mother-3p WH-do-PAR-2p RED-smell-IMM
Finally their mother arrived: "How come you smell so (bad)?"

'áy-pʉay-agha-amʉ̲; 'umʉs-kʉ-s máy-kʉ-pʉga-'ura 'umʉs: "Yoghovʉchi̲
say-REM-CL-3p 3p-EM-C say-BEN-REM-be 3p/S coyote/S
she asked them; so they told her: "Coyote has

'u nʉmʉy-paa-chukhwa̲ sʉ̲'i-kwa-y" máy-pʉga, "'íi-pa kh-'ura tíi
the/S 1p/EX-DIR-go pee-go-IMM say-REM here-DIR then-be high
urinated on us" they said, "he has just

yáakwi" 'áy-pʉay-aghay-'ura.
disappear/IMM say-REM-CL-be
disappeared right up that-a-way" they told her.

'uwas-'ura na'ay-pʉga, pía-amʉ̲, 'uwa-vina-khwa̲ tíi-mi̲
3s/S-be get.angry-REM mother-3p 3s/O-follow-go high-LOC
So she got mad, their mother, she went

mupa-pagha-pʉga… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… pina-khwa̲ kwáa-khwa̲-pʉga,
roll-go-REM INTJ follow-go run-go-REM
rolling up after Coyote… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… then she ran fast and

whchʉ-khwa-pʉgay-'u 'u-vwaa-tugwa-s; 'u-vwa-tugwa
overtake-go-REM-3s there-at-go-C there-at-go
caught up with him there; and right there

piyɵ-ghwa-pʉga[y-'u], páa-vawi-tukhwa̲ wʉna-pʉga,
pull-go-REM-3s water-come-go throw-REM
she dragged him (down) and threw him in the water, and

'ɵa-táa-ghay-kya-tʉ [pá-naagha̲-tukhwa̲] wʉna-pʉay-agha;
yellow-shirt-have-ANT-NOM/O water-in-to throw-REM-CL
threw his yellow shirt into the water too;

'uvʉs 'ura-pʉga.
end be-REM
so that was that.

'uwa-va-yis 'agha-pʉga-vachi-s 'ipʉ-'ura-s 'uwas; 'ú-vwaa-tugwa-sapa̲
3s/O-at-C WH/O-REM-BKGR-C WH-be-C 3s/S 3s-at-go-MOD
You never know about that one (Coyote) and what he is up to;

nʉ́' pu̲chuchugwa-y, toghoy-chi̲-aqh.
1s/S throw-REM-CL good-NOM-it
that is as far as I know, it's alright.

TEXT 19

Coyote cooks She-Bear's children

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Neil Cloud
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas 'ura-pʉga yoghovʉchi̲, pá-gúaa-va 'avi-pʉga, pʉi-pʉga;
3s/s be-REM coyote/s water-edge-at lie-REM sleep-REM
There was Coyote, he was lying at the edge of the water, sleeping;

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru tapʉ'ni-chi̲-'uru, tugu-tugwa-tʉ pʉni-'avi-pʉga,
then-be 3s/s-that wake-NOM-that up-go-DIR look-lie-REM
then having woken up, he lay there looking up, and above

'uwa-va-na̲ tʊ́ʊ'napi, túu-yoghoghwa-pʉgaa-ni; kh-'ura-'uru kʉrʉki̲-pʉga
3s/O-at-LOC cherrie/O black-loaded-REM-like then-be-that get.up-REM
him (he saw) cherries, black ones bunched together; so he got up and

'uwas, 'uwas-'ura-'uru chaqho-ri̲-pachi̲-ukh 'uru tʊ́ʊ'napi, 'uru-a-tʉ
3s/S 3s/s-be-that snap-do-BG-it that/O cherry/O that-G-NOM/O
snapped those cherries, he snapped some of them,

cha̲-chaqho-ri-pʉga, págha̲-kwa-pʉga, 'úu-pa-pʉga-'ura.
RED-snap-CAUS-REM go-go-REM there-DIR-REM-be
then took off, going that-a-way.

káava-y kanʉgaa-vaa-tukhwa̲ tíi 'i-vee-ni 'uni-'ni-pʉga,
mountain-G foothill/O-at-go high here-at-like do-INT-REM
So Coyote went high up the foothills, and right there, lo,

'úniguni kwiyaghatʉ mamachi̲ 'ura-pʉga; 'uwa-rugwa-pʉgay-ku̲;
sudden bear/G woman/s be-REM 3s/O-give-REM-it
there was a She-Bear; so he gave her (some of) it (cherries);

"'anʉʉ…" máy-pʉga kwiyaghatʉ mamachi̲, "'agha-vaa-tʉ 'ara-'ay,
INTJ say-REM bear/G woman/s WH-at-DIR be-IMM
"Wow…" said the She-Bear, "which way are

chaqhachi-n?" máy-pʉay-aghay-'u; "ma-vaa-tʉ tʉvwa" máy-pʉga 'uwas,
ygr.brother-1s say-REM-CL-3s there-at-DIR down say-REM 3s/s
(these cherries), my little brother?" she asked him; "right down there" he told

"ma-vaa 'ura-'ay, tʉvwa" máy-pʉga 'uwas; "nʉ́-'ura 'u-vwa
there-at be-IMM down say-REM 3s/s 1s-be there-at
her, "it's right over there, down" he said; "Well then I'll

chawi-khwa̲-paa-ni, pi-piyoghwa-khwa̲-paa-ni" máy-pʉga; "'umʉ-'uru
go-go-IRR-FUT RED-pull-go-IRR-FUT say-REM 3p/O-that
go there, and pick me some" she said; "now would you please watch

sʉnachi-u-av tamu-khwa̲-paa-nʉ" máy-pʉga; 'úniguni páy-ku
nephew-PL-OWN guard-go-IRR-IMP say-REM sudden three-O
over your nephews (for me)?" she said; an indeed she had three

tuachi-u-gwa-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs, pághą̲-kwa-pʉga, kwiyaghtʉ mamachi̲,
child-PL-have-REM end go-go-REM bear/G woman/s
children (there); well, she took off then, She-Bear,

pi̲-piyoghwa-khwa[-vaa]-chi̲.
RED-pull-go-IRR-NOM
to go and pick (cherries).

'uwas pina-khwa̲ 'u-vwaa-s karʉ-pʉga, 'úmʉ̲-'ura yagha-kwa-pʉga
3s/s follow-go there-at-C sit-REM 3p/s-be cry-go-REM
Well, Coyote was sitting there, and the (She-Bear's)

'úmʉ̲ tuachi-u 'u-vwaa-yis; na'ay-pʉga 'uwas… kwiyaghatʉ̲…
3p/s child-PL there-at-C angry-REM 3s/s bear/s
children burst out crying right there; so he got mad… Bear…

'ính-kway… yoghovʉchi̲… 'u-vwaa-tugwa-sʉ̲-amʉ̲ kh-'ura
WH/S-MOD coyote/s there-at-go-C-3p then-be
what's-his-name… Coyote… so right there and then he

chi̲-chikʉr'a̲-pʉga-amʉ̲, 'u-vwaa-tugwa-sʉ̲-amʉ̲ sa'a-gharʉ-pʉga,
RED-chop-REM there-at-go-C-3p boil-sit-REM
chopped them up, then sat and boiled them,

tuachi-u-gway-kyaa-na̲-'u.
child-PL-have-ANT-REL-3s
the children that she (She-Bear) had.

pina-khwa̲ 'uwas pichʉ-pʉga, tʊ́ʊ'napi nʊ́ʊ'wa-gha; 'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga;
follow-go 3s/s arrive-REM cherry/O carry-PAR end be-REM
Well later on She-Bear came back, carrying cherries; well that was that;

"'agha-ni!…" máy-pʉga-s-'u, kwiyaghatʉ 'u, "chaqha… 'agha-vaa-tʉ
WH-do sa-REM-C-3s bear/s the/s yngr.brother WH-LOC-DIR
"How come!…" she asked him, She-Bear did, "my little bro… where did you

tʉkuavi sa'a-karʉ-i?" máy-pʉay-agha-s-'u; "'íi-pa-chi-amʉ kh-'uru
meat/O boil-sit-IMM say-REM-CL-C-3s here-DIR-NOM-3p then-that
get the meat you're sitting and boiling?" she asked him; "Right here there are

'uni-'wa naghachi-u" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas, "nʉ́-'ura marʉ sa'a-karʉ-i"
do-?? bighorn-PL say-REM-C 3s/s 1s/s-be that/O boil-sit-IMM
big-horn sheep wandering about" he said, "so I am sitting and boiling that"

máy-pʉga; magha-khwa-pʉay-aghay-'u, tʉkua-magha-pʉay-aghay-'u,
say-REM feed-go-REM-CL-3s meat-feed-REM-CL-3s
he said; and he fed it to her, he fed the meat to her,

'uway kwiyaghatʉ; 'uwas 'uni-pʉga[y-kʉ] 'ú yoghovʉchi.
3s/O bear/O 3s/s do-REM-it that/s coyote/s
to the She-Bear; Coyote did that.

pina-khwa: "nʉ́-chaa-gha págha-kwa" máy-pʉga 'ú yoghovʉchi;
follow-go 2s/s-INC-have go-go say-REM that/s coyote/s
Finally (Coyote said): "I must go now" said that Coyote;

"táa-gha" máy-pʉga-s 'uwas; miya-tʉ tavi-chi, 'áy-ʉga
HORT-have say-REM-C 3s/s far-DIR step-NOM say-REM
"Go ahead" She-Bear told him; well having stepped far enough,

'ú yoghovʉchi, 'uway kwiyaghatʉ: "tuachi-u-av tʉka-qha-tʉ!"
that/s coyote/s 3s/O bear/O child-PL-OWN eat-ANT-NOM
that Coyote said, to She-Bear: "You have eaten your own children!"

máy-pʉgay-'u.
say-REM -3s
he told her.

'áavʉ 'uwas… tuachi-u-av 'umʉ 'ipʉ-paa kwính-kya-na-paa-tʉ
now 3s/s child-PL-OWN 3p/G WH-DIR lie/PL-ANT-REL-LOC-DIR
Now She-Bear… looked to where her children had been lying,

pʉnikya-pʉga, ka-'ipʉ-'a-pʉa… na'ay-pʉga, qhaqhaarʉ-pʉga
see-REM NEG-WH-have/NEG-REM/NEG angry-REM run-REM
but there was nothing there… so she got real mad and ran chasing

'uwa-vina-kwa, 'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… tapi-wʉna-pʉgay-'u
3s/O-follow-go INTJ step-throw-REM-3s
after Coyote, 'ʉ́ʉʉʉ… but he beat her

'uwas, páaqhachi[-naaghạ-tukhwạ] 'úu-pa yʉga-khwạ-pʉga.
3s/s hole/O-in-to there-DIR enter-go-REM
and jumped that-a-way into a hole.

'ú-vwaa-tʉ 'ʊra-pʉga, pʊ́-paa yʉga-khwạ-kwa-nạ-paa-tʉ-a-'u;
there-at-DIR dig-REM REL-dir enter-go-ANT-REL-DIR-O-3s
So She-Bear started digging, at the spot where Coyote had entered;

'uwas-'ura ma-vaa kʉma-vạ chíiyoghwa-vachị 'úu-pa-pachị-'ura,
3s/s-be there-at other-LOC pop.out-BG there-DIR-BKGR-be
but he popped out at a different place that-a-way,

'ina-khwa-pa'aghạ miya-maa-gha.
here-go-up go.far-??-PAR
and ran away up there.

'u-vwaa-tʉ-'ura sanapʉ 'uni-vachị, sana-pʉ'i-chʉ-vachị-'ura,
there-at-DIR-be pitch/O do-BG pitch-eye-make-BG-be
So then he did (with) pitch, he fixed his eyes with pitch,

yoghovʉchị, tuachi-u qo-qho'ay-kya-y; 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pachi-s:
coyote/S child-PL RED-slaughter-ANT-IMM 3s/O-at-go-BG-C
Coyote did, having slaughtered (her) children; then he approached her:

"'ipʉ 'ini-kh 'ʊra-gha?" máy-vachị-'u-'ura 'uwas; "'íi-pa
WH/O do-IMM dig-PAR say-BG-3s-be 3s/s there-DIR
"What are you doing digging here?" he asked her;

núu-gway yáakwi, 'iya-pa núu-gway yʉga-khwạ, 'ú
person-MOD disappear/IMM here-DIR person-MOD enter-go that/s
"A person has disappeared through here, a person has entered through there,

tuachi-u-n qo-qho'ay-kya-tʉ" máy-vachị-'ura, "'úrʉ-'ura 'uwayas 'ʊra-gha
child-PL-1s RED-slaughter-ANT-NOM say-BG-be that-be 3s/O dig-PAR
the one who slaughtered my children" she said, "that's why I'm digging

'ini-kh" 'uwayas 'áy-ta-vachị; "'ʉ́mʉ-aa ka-'ú-wa-pʉ 'ura-'ay?";
do-IMM 3s//O say-PASS-BKGR 2s/s-Q NEG-that-NEG-NOM be-IMM
(here) after him" she told him; "Hey, aren't you that one?";

"háaa…" 'áy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, yoghovʉchị 'u; "sʉnaa-raachi-chi-mʉ-'ura
INTJ say-REM-be 3s/s coyote/s the/s nephew-DIM-DIM-2s-be
"Háaa…" he said, Coyote; "They were your nephews,

'ura-'ay, sana-pʉ'i-gya-tʉ!" 'áy-vachị-'ura 'uwas; "nʊ́-ga
be-IMM pitch-eye-have-NOM say-BG-be 3s/s 1s/s-TOP
you pitch-eyed thing!" she said; "I'm not the one

ka-ˈuni-na-tʉ̲ ˈara-ˈay, kʉmas ˈura-vachi̲” ˈáy-vachi̲-ˈura ˈuwas,
NEG-do-ANT/NEG-NOM be-IMM other/s be-BG say-BG-be 3s/s
who did it, it was someone else” said Coyote,

“ˈuwa-sapa̲ ˈura-qa” ˈáy-vachi̲, sana-pʉˈi-chi̲-kway.
3s-MOD be-ANT say-BKGR pich-eye-NOM-MOD
“it must have been him” he said, all made up with pitch eyes.

ˈuwas-ˈura-ˈuru yʉga-khwa̲-kway-ku̲-ˈuru páaqhachi[-naagha̲],
3s/s-be-that enter-go-ANT-SUB-that hole/o-in
Now when Coyote had entered the hole earlier,

ˈuway tuku-na-y ˈuwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga-vachi̲, ˈú yoghovʉchi̲,
3s/o cougar/o-LOC-o 3s/o-at-go-REM-BG that/s coyote/s
he met Mountain-Lion, coyote did,

yʉga-khwa̲-ku̲-ˈuru; kh-ˈura ˈú túku̲ ˈáy-vachi̲: “ˈuru-ˈura
enter-go-SUB-that then-be that/s cougar/s say-BG that-be
when entering; and that Mountain-Lion said: “When

pina-ˈuni-khwa-ku̲-s-ˈuru, ˈíi-pa qha̲qhaarʉ-nʉ” máy-vachi̲-ˈu,
follow-do-go-SUB-that here-DIR run-IMP say-BG-3s
you come in here next time, run this way” he told him,

“nʉ́-rʉkwa-khwa” máy-vachi̲-ˈu; “ˈúvway” máy-vachi̲-ˈu-ˈura ˈuway,
1s-under-go/IMP say-BG-3s alright say-BG-3s-be 3s/o
“go under me” he told him; “Alright” he told him,

yoghovʉchi̲ ˈu.
coyote/s the/s
Coyote did.

kh-ˈura-ˈuru ˈuwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga; sana-pʉˈi-chi-kway, kachu-ˈu
then-be-that 3s/o-at-go-REM pitch-eye-NOM-MOD NEG-3s
Well, so now Coyote approached She-Bear; being all pitch-eyed,

ˈiyavagha-pʉa-s; pina-khwa̲-ˈura-ˈuru ˈuru miya-tʉ tavi-chi̲-ˈuru,
fear-REM/NEG-C follow-go-be-that that/o far-DIR step-SUB-that
he wasn't afraid; so later when he stepped farther away,

máy-pʉga-s-ˈu: “tuachi-u-av tʉka-qha-tʉ̲!” ˈáy-pʉga-s-ˈu; ˈúu-pa-s-ˈu
say-REM-C-3s child-PL-OWN eat-ANT-NOM say-REM-C-3s there-DIR
he told her: “You ate your own children!” he called to her; so she

ˈuni-u-pachi-s, ˈú kwiyaghatʉ̲; ˈuru máy-kya-pi-pa-av
do-INC-BG-C that/S bear/s that/o say-ANT-NOM-DIR-OWN
chased after him that-a-way, that She-Bear; but he did what he

[ˈuni-pʉga], ˈuway-ˈura tuku, ˈuway ˈuwa-rʉkwa-gha; ˈú̱ʉʉ…
do-REM 3s/G-be cougar/O the/O 3s/O-under-PAR INTJ
told him, Mountain-Lion, running under him; ú̱ʉʉ…

[suwa-]wa̱chu-wi̱-ti-ta-vachi̱-ˈu… wachu-wi-ku̱-sapa-ni̱-ˈara,
almost-overtake-??-CAUS-PASS-BG-3s overtake-??-SUB-MOD-like-be
he was almost overtaken… but just before she caught him,

qha̱qharʉ-vachi̱ ˈuwa-vaa tʉgʉvʉ-av ˈuwa-rʉkwa-gha̱
run-BG 3s/O-at friend/O-OWN 3s/O-under-PAR
he ran under his friend and

qha̱qhaarʉ-vachi̱ ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-s.
run-BG there-at-go-C
escaped that way.

ˈu-vwaa-tukhwa̱ ˈuwa-u-pachi̱, túku̱ ˈu, paqha-khwa̱-ta-vachi̱-ˈu
there-at-go jump-INC-BG cougar/s the/s kill-go-PASS-BG-3s
Then he pounced on She-Bear, Mountain-Lion did, and killed

ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-s; ˈʊa-pa-kwa̱-ˈu… ˈʊa-y-ˈu chaqhovina-ta-vachi̱;
there-at-go-C back-DIR-go-3s back-O-3s snap-PASS-BG
her right there; her back… her back was snapped;

ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-s ˈura-yis-ˈuru.
there-at-go-C be-C-that
and that's the way it was.

TEXT 20

Coyote, Wolf and Horned-Toad

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 9-4-76
recorded by: Neil Cloud
translated by: Sunshine Smith

'uwas 'úu-pa-pʉga-s, 'íni̲-kway… saghwagharʉ 'ini-kya-tʉ̲-'uru…
3s/s there-DIR-REM-C WH/S-MOD green/O make-PASS-NOM/S-that
He was passing that way, what's-his-name… Green-Stuff….

kʉmʉy 'ʉ́a-pi 'uru wagha-rukhwa̲… 'uwas-'ura 'ú… yoghovʉchi̲
corn plant-NOM/O the/O cross-go 3s/s-be that/s coyote/s
he was sneaking through the corn-fields… it was that one, it was Coyote…

'ura-pʉga… yoghovʉchi̲ 'ura-pʉga-s… yoghovʉchi 'uway… 'uwa-'ura-'uru
be-REM coyote/s be-REM-C coyote/O the/O 3s/O-be-that
it was Coyote… Coyote… him…

'uway… sinaavi̲ 'ura-pʉga-vacchi̲ naagha̲… 'uway yoghovʉchi-wa
3s/O wolf/s be-REM-BG maybe 3s/O coyote/O-with
it was wolf maybe… he was talking with Coyote,

'apagha̲-pʉga-amʉ̲ nawa-amʉ̲, 'uway maqhacha̲'achi-vaa-chʉ 'apagha-y,
talk-REM-3p RECIP-3p 3s/O horned.toad/O-at-DIR talk-IMM
they were talking about Horned-Toad,

'uway núu-gwa-y nía[-gha-tʉ] saghwagharʉ 'ini-kya-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay.
3s/O person-TOP-O name-have-NOM/O green/O make-PASS-NOM be-IMM
(about) that person whose name was Green-Stuff.

'uwas-'ura máy-pʉgay-'u… pʉsariniya-kʉ-gay-'u, 'uway yoghovʉchi:
3s/s-be say-REM-3s story.tell-BEN-PAR-3s 3s/O coyote/O
So Wolf was telling Coyote… he was telling him a story, to Coyote:

"saghwagharʉ 'ini-kya-tʉ-kʉ máa-pagha-y" 'áy-pʉga,
green/O do-PASS-NOM-EM there-go-IMM say-REM
"(I saw) Green-Stuff walking right over there" he said,

“kʉmʉy ˈʉa-pi wagha-rukhwa̲, wáa-mamachi-u ˈiyʊna̲-pagha-y”
corn plant-NOM/O across-go two-woman-PL hug-go-IMM
“across the corn field, hugging two women”

máy-pʉga-ˈura, ˈuway yoghovʉchi ˈuwa-chukhwa̲.
say-REM-be 3s/O coyote/O 3s/O-go
he said, to that Coyote.

ˈuwas-ˈura yoghovʉchi̲ ˈuway ˈáy-pʉga: “súu nʉ-ˈara-tʉ
3s/S-be coyote/S 3s/O say-REM strong 1s-be-DIR
So Coyote told Wolf: “Is he a stronger

taˈwachi-n-aa ˈura-ˈay, chi̲ka-vʊ́ʊtʉ̲-kwa-qha-pʉ̲ ˈu, ˈú
man-1s-Q be-IMM rough-round-have-PASS-NOM the/S that/S
man than me, that rough-round one, the one they

saghwagharʉ ˈini-kya-tʉ̲ máy-na̲-amʉ̲-ˈu?” máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu,
green/O make-PASS-NOM say-REL-3p-3s say-REM-CL-3s
call Green-Stuff?” he asked him,

“ˈuway-ˈura chi̲ka-pʊ́ʊtʉ̲-kwa-qha-pʉ̲ ˈu?” ˈáy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu.
that/O-be rough-round-have-PASS-NOM/S the/S say-REM-CL-3s
“that rough-round?” he asked him.

kh-ˈura ˈuru máy-na̲-av-ˈuru ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-s-ˈuru siya-pʉga
then-be that say-REL-OWN-that there-at-go-C-that chill-REM
So right then (after) having said that, right there

yoghovʉchi̲ ˈu, siya-pʉga, chi̲ka-pʊ́ʊ-vi-gya-tʉ
coyote/S the/S chill-REM rough-round-NOM-have-NOM/O
Coyote got a chill, he got a chill, just the way he described that

máy-kya-pʉa-na̲-av-ˈuru… ˈuway saghwarʉ ˈini-kya-tʉ…
say-ANT-REM-REL-OWN-that 3s/O green/O do-ANT-NOM/O
rough-round one… (described) that Green-Stuff…

máy-ˈu-ˈura nía-qha-pʉga…
say-3s-be name-ANT-REM
he had called him that…

kh-ˈura tugwa-na-vaa-ku̲-ˈuru siya-khwa-pʉga, ˈuway-ˈura ˈuway
then-be night-LOC-LOC-SUB-that chill-go-REM 3s/G-be 3s/G
Then later on at night Coyote got a chill, so he crawled in under

sinaavi piwa-y tʉkwa-gha̲ yʉga-vʊrʊ-pʉga… táa-rʉkwa-ghay-ˈu…
wolf/G wife/O descend-PAR enter-go-REM shirt-under-have-3s
Wolf’s wife… under her gown…

wíichkus-'ura-'uru 'áy-pʉga-s… siya-khwa-pʉga 'uwas,
tomorrow-be-that say-REM-C chill-go-REM 3s/s
Well the next morning he said… he got a chill,

máy-kya-pʉa-na-av 'uru… 'u-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-aqh nʉ́'
say-ANT-REM-REL-OWN the/O there-at-go-MOD-it 1s/s
the same as he had said earlier (about Horned-Toad)…

puchuchugwa-y 'úru-kʉ.
know-IMM that/S-EM
that's as far as I know.[1]

1. The story spins a thick web of folkloric allusions, mostly submerged in the simple-seeming plot, to human social behavior and its pitfalls. The sexual part – macho pride – is almost incidental to the underlying intent: Watch the malice you direct at others, for it may rebound upon you. In all likelihood, Horned-Toad knew Coyote was bad-mounting him, so using bad medicine – *'ʉvʉ-puwavʉ* – he caused Coyote to get the chill that night. Coyote's slighting description of Horned-Toad ('hugging two women') presumably hinted at Horned-Toad's cold blood, thus lack of virility. Coyote's crawling under the skirts of Wolf's wife adds insult to injury. This is another one of the Coyote tales where the malevolent trickster does not come out on top.

TEXT 21

How Coyote and Bobcat got their shapes

told by: Harry Richards
date recorded: 1973
recorded by: Arlene Millich
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas-kway múusa-tukwichi, múusa-tukwichi 'ura-puga; kh-'ura
3s/s-MOD cat-cougar/s cat-cougar/s be-REM then-be
There was Bobcat… it was Bobcat; well

kani-vaghay-kwa-mi-kway tɵcha'a-u-vwaa-chukhwa; kh-'ura-'uru
house-walk-go-HAB-MOD prairie.dog-PL-at-go then-be-that
he used to go visit the prairie-dogs; so when

ma-maay-kyay-ku-'uru, 'umu-a-tu ya-yagha-mi, ya-yagha-mi-kway:
RED-see-PL-SUB-that 3p-G-NOM/S RED-cry-HAB RED-cry-HAB-MOD
they would see him, one of them would burst out crying, would cry:

"pít-pít-pít…" máy 'umu-y-kway, kh-'ura 'umus pa'a-mɵtɵni-mi-kway,
pit-pit-pit say 3p-O-MOD then-be 3p/s complete-run/PL-HAB-MOD
"Pit-pit-pit…" he called to them like that; then they would all escape like that,

kani-vaa-tugwa-av waghay-kwa-mi, kách kh-'ura 'uwas
house/O-at-go-OWN enter/PL-go-HAB NEG then-be 3s/S
running back into their holes, so Bobcat would

'ini-vaa-chu 'apagha-mi-wa.
WH/O-at-DIR talk-HAB-NEG
not be able to talk to anyone.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura pina-khwa, pina-khwa-s sumay-puga púupa
there-at-it-be follow-go follow-go-C think-REM way
So then, later, he was thinking how he could do it

mani-vaa-na[-av]; kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas ma-vaa-tu pusagha-puga…
do.like-IRR-REL-OWN then-be-that 3s/s there-at-DIR search-REM
(approach them); so he searched that-a-way (gesture)…

yúaa-rʉvwa-tʉ pʉsagha-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'ura…
country-down-DIR search-REM there-at-it-be-that 3s/s-be
he searched down the open country; so then he…

'u-vwaa-tʉ maay-pʉga, wh̲sʉvʉ tachivi-gyapʉ; 'úru̲-'ura-'uru
there-at-DIR find-REM cactus/O head-DEFUN/O that-be-that
found out there, a dried-up old cactus head; then he plucked

pʉʉ-a-y-ukh 'uru kʉʉ-pʉga, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'ivichi-ma̲-aqh
fur-G-O-it the/O pick-REM there-at-it-be-that stick/O-LOC-it
the fur (spines) off that thing, then hoisted it on a stick;

chi̲ki'wa-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kani-vagha[y]-kwa-pʉga.
hoist-REM there-at-it-be house/O-walk-go-REM
and then he went visiting (the prairie-dogs).

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru pu̲-pʉni̲kya-pʉgay-'u,
there-at-it-be-that 3p/S-that RED-see-REM-3s
Well they kept looking at him,

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru ká-mʊtʊni̲-pʉa, 'ʉ́ʉ pu̲-pʉni̲kya-pʉgay-'u;
there-at-it-be-that NEG-run/PL-REM/NEG just RED-see-REM-3s
but they didn't run away, they just kept looking at him;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas 'umʉ-vaa-chugwa-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru
there-at-it-be 3s/s 3p/O-at-go-REM there-at-it-be-that
so then he went toward them; and he

'áy-pʉga: "tʉ-tʉgaa-qa-vaa-chi-amu̲ 'ani-kh, nhka-tʉ-tʉgaa-kwa-nʉ-aa?
say-REM RED-bet-PL-IRR-NOM-2p do-IMM danche-RED-bet-go-IMP-Q
said: "Shall we have a contest, a dancing contest?

ma-vaay wʉga-ma-tʉ, tʉpʉy-wʉga-ma-tʉ?"
there-at hill-LOC-DIR rock-hill-LOC-DIR
Over there on the hill, on the rocky hill?"

kh-'ura-'uru 'ura-khwa-pʉga, máy-kya-khwa-pʉga: "'ʉʉ!…"
then-be-that be-go-REM say-PL-go-REM yes
So that's what happened, the Prarie-Dogs said: "Yes!…"

kh-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-chawi̲ miya-khwa-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru:
then-be-that there-at-come go/PL-go-REM there-at-it-be-that
then they all went that way; then (Bobcat said):

"'iya-nʉ-s" 'áy-pʉga… 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas-'uru pʉni-'ni-pʉga-amu̲:
here-1s-C say-REM there-at-it-be 3s/s-that look-INT-REM-3p
"Here I am" he said… then he watched them carefully:

“káava-y mu-muuchi ˈini-kya-vaa-ni̲-amu̲, mʉ́ni̲-ˈura
peak-O RED-lower.head do-PL-IRR-FUT-2p 2p/S-be
“You keep your heads down, so that you won’t

ka-pʉ-pʉni̲-kya-vaa-ˈwa-ni!” máy-pʉga; kh-ˈura-ˈuru
NEG-RED-look-PL-IRR-NEG-FUT say-REM then-be-that
look up!” he told them; so they

mani-kya-pʉga ˈumʉs.
do.like-PL-REM 3p/S
did as (he told them).

ˈú-vwa-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru ˈuwas-ˈura pʉni-ˈni-pʉga-amu̲; tʉvʉchi̲
there-at-it-be-that 3s/S-be look-INT-REM-3p very
So Bobcat kept watching them closely; there was one very

yʉu-gwa-tu̲ ˈura-vachi̲ ˈumʉ-a-tu̲, ˈú-vway-aqh ˈuwas-ˈuru
fat-have-NOM/S be-BG 3p-G-NOM/S there-at-it 3s/S-that
fat one among them, so Bobcat

chigisi̲-tʊna-pʉgay-ˈu, páaya-na̲-pa-ˈu wʉna-pʉga; ˈú-ˈu̲ni-pʉga-amu̲-ˈura,
spear-poke-REM-3s side-LOC-DIR-3s throw-REM RED-do-REM-3p-be
speared him, then threw him off the cliff; and he did it to all of them,

súu-ku ˈuni-pʉga-s, súu-ku ˈuni-ˈa-pʉga-s, ˈú-ˈu̲ni-amu̲-ˈura-ˈuru,
one-O do-REM-C one-O do-??-REM-C RED-do-3p-be-that
he did it to one, then to another, he speared all of them,

qo-qhoˈay-pʉga[-amu̲] ˈuwas; ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru ˈʉvʉsa̲-pʉga,
RED-slaughter-REM-3p 3s/S there-at-it-be-that end-REM
he slaughtered them all; then it was done, it was the end for

ˈavaˈna̲-tʉ-mʉ kh-ˈura ˈʉvʉsa̲-pʉga.
many-NOM-PL./O then-be end-REM
(the) many of them.

ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru págha̲-kwa-pʉga ˈuwas; ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru
there-at-it-be-that go-go-REM 3s/S there-at-it-be-that
Then Bobcat took off; but after a while he came back there,

ˈu-vwaa tugwa-pʉga, pʉ́-paa-amu̲-ˈuru kwa-kwayvi[-na]-paa-tukhwa̲,
there-at go-REM REL-DIR-3p-that RED-lie/PL-REL-DIR-go
to where they were lying about, and he picked them up

ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-amu̲ chʊˈa-pʉga, tʊcha’a-y[-u] nʊ́ʊˈwa-gha
there-at-go-3p gather-REM p.dog-O-PL carry-PAR
there, and carrying the prairie-dogs he took off,

pághą-kwa-pʉga, páa-va-chawį tʉvwa; 'u-vwaa páa-va-'u
go-go-REM water-at-come down there-at water-at-3s
down to the water; there he sat down

karʉ-khwą-pʉga, saghoy'a-pʉga-amʉ; kh-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway na'a-ti-pʉga
sit-go-REM butcher-REM-3p then-be-that there-at fire-CAUS-REM
near the water, and he butchered them; then he made a fire, and he

pina-khwą, kh-'ura 'u-vwa-amʉ tíi tu'ma-pʉga; tʉka-vaa-nį-amʉ 'uwas
follow-go then-be there-at-3p high roast-REM eat-IRR-FUT-3p 3s/s
roasted them up there; he was going to eat them right away,

'ú-vway-aqh, kh-'ura-'uru… 'i-mi-tukwą kwáa-pʉga; 'u-vwaa
there-at-it then-be-that here-LOC-go run-REM there-at
but then… he ran farther away; and there he lay down in

'ava-vi-pa 'avi-khwą-pʉga, pʉi-pʉga… pʉi-khwa-vachį.
shade-NON/O-DIR lie-go-REM sleep-REM sleep-go-BG
the shade, and he slept… he went to sleep.

'u-vwaa-'ura 'avi-pʉga, pʉi-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs kh-'ura pʉi-kų-'u… pʉi-pʉga
there-at-be lie-REM sleep-REM end then-be sleep-SUB-3s slee-REM
So Bobcat was lying there, sleeping; well then while he slept… he was sleeping

kh-'ura pina-khwą-'u… pʉi-pʉga… kh-'ura pina-khwa-s-'u yoghovʉchį
then-be follow-go-3s sleep-REM then-be follow-go-C-3p coyote/s
there later… he was asleep… then after a while Coyote came

'u máa-pa paghay'wą-pʉga, [púupa] paghay'wą-pʉ-av, 'urų-'ura
the/s there-DIR walk-REM way walk-NOM-OWN that-be
along walking right there, the way he wanders about, whichever

'agha-mį-tugwa-sapą púupa kwana-vachį… miya-pʉga-vachį.
WH-LOC-go-MOD way smell-BG go-REM-BG
way he sniffs around… he was wandering about.

kh-'ura-'uru 'ugwi-vachį-'u, kwana-na-kų-'uru 'ugwi-vachį;
then-be-that smell-BG-3s smell-REL-it that smell-BG
Well then he smelled (it), he smelled what was wafting there;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru natʉna-vachį-uk, 'ugwi-natʉna-vachį-uk,
there-at-it-be-that track-BG-it smell-track-BG-it
so right away he tracked it, tracked it by smell,

'ugwi-'a-vachį-ukh; kh-'ura-'uru 'u-vwa-tugwa-'u maay-pʉga, 'u-vwaa
smell-??-BG-it then-be-that there-at-go-3s see-REM there-at
he sniffed it (the roasted P-dogs); then right there he saw it, it was right

'ura-pʉga, 'i-vee-ni.
be-REM here-at-like
there, right here.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'i-na-kwa-pʉ̲ núuchi̲ 'avi-pʉga, pʉ̲-pʉi-pʉga;
there-at-it-be here-LOC-go-NOM person/s lie-REM RED-sleep-REM
And there was someone lying right there, sleeping;

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa-tugwa-pʉga, pʉni-'ni-pʉgay-'u; 'úniguni tɵchay'a-u
3s-be there-at-go-REM look-INT-REM-3s sudden p.dog-PL
so Coyote approached there and examined him; and lo, (he saw)

tu'ma-qha-qa-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-tugwa 'umʉas 'ɵra-pʉ 'uni-pʉgay-ku,
roast-PL-PASS-REM there-at-go 3p/G dig-NOM/O do-REM-it
the roasted prairie-dogs; so he went down to their pit,

'ipʉ-a-ku̲-'uru 'ini-kya-na̲, 'i-mi-tugwa-ukh mani-pʉga;
WH-O-it-that do-PASS-REL there-LOC-go-it do.like-REM
where they had been roasted, and right this way he did like this (gesture);

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru tʉ̲-tʉ'ma̲-pʉga-amʉ̲, kh-'ura 'i-mi-tukhwa̲
there-at-it-be-that RED-take-REM-3p then-be here-LOC-go
then he picked them up and took off farther away;

págha̲-kwa-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru karʉ[-khwa]-pʉga, tʉka[-u]-pʉga
go-go-REM there-at-it-be-that sit-go-REM eat-INC-REM
then he sat down and started eating;

'ú-vway; kh-'ura tʉka-khwa̲-pʉga-amʉ̲, pa'a-sɵwa-khwa̲-pʉga-amʉ̲.
there-at then-be eat-go-REM-3p complete-gobble-go-REM-3p
and he went on eating them, he gobbled them all up.

kh-'ura-'uru 'uni-maku-chi̲-amʉ̲-'uru, 'uru tachi-amʉ̲ 'uru
then-be-that do-finish-NOM-3p-that that/O head-3p the/O
When he finished eating them, he took their heads and

'úu-pa-s yáa'wa̲-khwa-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-sʉ-ku sogho'mi̲-pʉga; 'ivichi
there-DIR-C carry-go-REM there-at-C-it bury-REM stick/O
carried them over there and buried them; then he put sticks

'úu-pa yuna-'a̲-pʉga, kh-'ura-'uru sogho'mi̲-kya-pʉga 'umʉs; kh-'ura
there-DIR put-??-REM then-be-that bury-PASS-REM 3p/S; then-be
there instead, so they (P-dogs) were buried there; and all the

'uwas núuchi̲ 'u ma-vaa 'avi-pʉga.
3s/S person/s the/S there-at lie-REM
while that person (Bobcat) was lying there (asleep).

kh-'ura-s 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga, ka-tavʉ'ni̲-pʉa 'uwas, kh-'ura
then-be 3s/O-at-go-REM NEG-wake.up-REM/NEG 3s/S then-be
So Coyote went to him, Bobcat hadn't woken up, and he did

nʉkavi-ay-'a 'uru 'uni-'wa̲-pʉga, pana-kwa-ukh
ear-O-3s the/O do-??-REM down-go-it
this with his ears, he pressed them down,

ma-yáakwi[-ti]-khwa-pʉga, mʊvʊt'ʊ-'a 'i-mi-tukhwa̲
hand-sink-CAUS-go-REM nose-3s here-LOC-go
then pressed his nose down this way…

ma-yáakwi[-ti]-khwa-pʉga… sinaa[-mʊvʊt'a]-'u… 'uwa-vaa-chawi̲;
hand-sink-CAUS-go-REM wolf-nose-3s 3s/O-at-come
his wolf-like nose… pressed it down into his face; so now Bobcat had

miipʉchi-'a qova-ta-pʉga; kwa̲si-'a 'uru pa'a-toghwa-tʉ kwa̲si-gya-pʉga
small-3s face-be-REM tail-3s the/O very-long-NOM/O tail-have-REM
a small face; and his tail, Bobcat had a long tail; so Coyote kept twisting

'uwas múusa-tu̲kwichi̲; 'uru kwa̲si-'a 'uru ma-rʉkwa̲-na-pʉga-s,
3s/S cat-cougar/S that/O tail-3s the/O hand-down-HAB-REM-C
his tail down there, way up there that way,

úu-pa-s tíi 'i-mi-tukhwa̲, míipʉchi̲ kwa̲si-ta-pʉga; kh-'ura 'avi-pʉga
there-DIR-C high here-LOC-go small tail-be-REM then-be lie-REM
so it became a small tail; and Bobcat was lying there

pʉ̲-pʉi-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura tʉka-qhay-ku̲, págha̲-kwa-pʉga máa-pa
RED-sleep-REM 3s/S-be eat-ANT-SUB go-go-REM there-DIT
sleeping; then having eaten, Coyote took off that-a-way

'i-mi-tukhwa̲ kʉma-rukhwa̲.
here-LOC-go other-go
going to another place.

pina-khwa̲-'ura 'uwas tavʉ'ni̲-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura tavʉ'ni̲-ku̲-'uru,
follow-go-be 3s/S wake.up-REM thereat-it-be wake.up-SUB-that
Well finally Bobcat woke up; and upon waking up,

míipʉ-vʉchi̲ mʊvʊt'ʊchi-gya-pʉga, kwa̲si-gyapʉ-'u ka-pa'a-toghwa-pʉa,
small-DIM nose-have-REM tail-have-REM-3s NEG-very-long-REM/NEG
he had a tiny little nose, and his poor tail was not very long,

míipʉ-vʉchi kwa̲si-gya-pʉga; [kh-'ura] máy-pʉga: "toghoy-kʉ
small-DIM tail-have-REM then-be say-REM: "good-EM
he had a tiny little tail; so he said: "Alright,

'úu-pa-saa-pani" máy-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-s 'u-vwaa-tugwa-pʉga,
there-DIR-TOP-like say-REM there-at-it-be-C there-at-go-REM
that's the way it is" he said; and he took off that way,

tʉka-vaa-chi̲, tʊchay'a-y-u 'umʉ.
eat-IRR-NOM p.dogs-O-PL the/O
to eat, the prairie-dogs.

'u-vwa-tʉ mani-pugay-ku̲, 'u-vwaa ta̲chi-gyapʉ-sʉ-mʉ 'úu-pa
there-at-DIR do.like-REM-SUB there-at head-DEFUN-C-PL/O there-DIR
Well once Bobcat did that, (he saw) all those dead heads sitting

yu̲-yugwi-pʉga; ka-'iya-na-pʉa núu-aghay-kya-na̲-amu̲; 'ʉvʉs…
RED-sit/PL-REM NEG-here-be-REM/NEG body-have-ANT-REL-3p end…
there; there was nothing left of their bodies that had been there; well…

"'ini-sapa̲-amu̲-'ura 'uni-'wa̲? 'ini-chaa-amu̲-'ura 'ini-'wa̲?" máy-pʉga
"WH-MOD-3p-be do-?? WH-INC-3p-be do-?? say-REM
"Who could have done it (eaten them)? Who could have done it?" he said,

'uwas, "'ú-aa kacha-'a-pʉ-'u yoghovʉchi-'aa-pu̲?" máy-pʉga;
3s/s that/S-Q NEG-be/NEG-NP-3s coyote-be/NEG-NOM say-REM
"couldn't it be Coyote?" he said;

"'agha-pa 'ú-vway págha̲-kway-kya-vʉ?" máy-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru
WH-DIR there-at go-go-ANT-NOM say-REM there-at-it-be-that
"I wonder which way he has gone?" he said; then he go real mad,

na'ay-pʉga, natʉna-vʊrʊ-pʉgay-'u; 'úniguni: "'úu-pa-qha-pʉga!"
angry-REM track-go-REM-3s sudden there-DIR-ANT-REM
and he went and tracked Coyote; and lo: "He went that-a-way! (gesture)"

máy-pʉga, "'úu-pa-qha-pʉga-'ura 'uwas!"
say-REM there-DIR-ANT-REM-be 3s/s
he said, "he went that-a-way! (gesture)".

'uwas natʉna-khwa-pʉgay-'u; kh-'ura pʊtʊ'nichi-paa-tukhwa̲
3s/S track-go-REM-3s then-be hump/O-DIR-go
So Bobcat went tracking Coyote; then coming to a little hump-hill there

'uwas-'uru núuchi̲ 'u-vwa 'avi-pʉga qovaa-va-'u, 'avaavi-tʉkwa̲ kʉ́ʉ-pa
3s/s-that person/s there-at lie-REM face-at-3s shade/O-under agape-DIR
was someone lying there on his face, lying in the shade with his mouth

'avi-pʉga–tʊchay'a-rʉka-qha-tu̲ 'u! kh-'ura 'uwas
lie-REM p.dog-eat-ANT-NOM/S the/s then-be 3s/s
agape – the one who ate the prairie-dogs! So Bobcat went to

'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga, 'uwa-vaa-chawi-tukhwa̲ wʉnʉ-pʉga,
3s/O-at-go-REM 3s/O-at-come-go stand-REM
him and stood over him,

mʊvʊt'ʊ-aa-'u piyoghwa-khwa̲-pʉga, pana-khwa̲, mʊvʊt'ʊ-aa-'u
nose-G-3s pull-go-REM down-go nose-G-3s
and he pulled his nose hard, downward, Coyote's his nose became

pa'a-toghwa-tʉ mʊvʊt'ʊ-ta-pʉga; nʉkavi-'a 'uru tíi
very-long-NOM/O nose-be-REM ear/O-3s the/O up
a very long nose; and he pulled his ears up; and he

tʉ̲-tʉkwa-'a-kwa̲-pʉga-s; kwa̲si-'a 'uru tʉ̲-tʉkwa-'a-pʉga-s; 'ʉvʉs,
RED-down-??-go-REM-C tail-3s the/O RED-down-??-REM-C end
pulled his tail down too;

pa'a-toghwa-tʉ kwasi-ta-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs, 'uni-gya-s, págha̲-kwa-pʉga.
very-long-NOM/O tail-be-REM end do-PAR-C go-go-REM
well, his tail became very long; well, having done that, Bobcat took off.

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'u-vwaa-s 'avi-pʉga; pina-khwa-s-'ura
then-be ʻuwas-that there-at-C lie-REM follow-go-C-be
And all the while Coyote was lying down there; finally he woke up,

tavʉ'ni̲-pʉga, ka-'uway-'a-ku̲-pʉ̲; kh-'ura-'uru pʉnikyay-ku̲-'u,
wake.up-REM NEG-3s/O-be/NEG-SUB-NOM then-be-that see-SUB-3s
unaware of anything; then when he looked around, (he saw that) he had

na'a-pa'a-toghwa-tʉ kwasi-gya-pʉga, mʊvʊt'ʊ-gwapʉ̲-'u chiyapʉ-vʉchi-'a,
??-very-long-NOM/O tail-have-REM nose-DEFUN-3s narrow-DIM-3s
a very long tail, and his poor nose was narrow, and

nʉkavi-'u-'ura pa'a-toghwa-pʉga-s; kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru pʉni-'ni̲-pʉga,
ear-3s-be very-long-REM-C then-be 3s/s-that look-INT-REM
his ears were long (and pointy); so then he looked,

na-vʉni-'ni̲-puga, kh-'ura-yis 'áy-pʉga: "toghoy-kwa[y], 'úu-pa-sa-pani,
REFL-look-INT-REM then-be-C say-REM good-MOD that-DIR-TOP-like
he looked closely at himself, then he said: "It's good, just like that,

tʉpʉychi páaqhachi-paa-tʉ 'ivi-ta" máy-pʉga; kh-'ura-'uru
rock/G hole/O-DIR-DIR drink-NOM say-REM then-be-that
for drinking out of a hole in the rock" he said; then he

págha̲-kwa-pʉga 'úu-pa.
go-go-REM there-DIR
took off that-a-way.

kh-ˈura-ˈuru ˈu-vwaa-tʉ tʉpʉy-mi-tʉ… tʉpʉychi̱ ˈúru̱
then-be-that there-at-DIR rock-LOC-DIR rock/s the/s
Well later there in the rocks… there were

ˈʊvaagha-chaa-pʉga; ˈuwas ˈúu-pa tʉvwa mu-mukwi̱-ˈni-pʉga:
hole-INC-REM 3s/s there-DIR down RED-stick.nose-INT-REM
holes in the rock there; so Coyote kept sticking his nose down there:

“toghoy-kwa-ˈu-pʉ, tʉ́ʉ-ˈay” máy-pʉga, “ˈuru ˈuwa-ˈwi-kway-ku̱-ˈuru,
good-go-3s-NOM good-IMM say-REM that rain-??-ANT-SUB-that
“Good, very good” he said, “when it has rained, when there’s

páa-agha[y]-ku̱-aqh-ˈuru, ˈivi-vaa-chi̱, máa-pa
water-have-SUB-it-that drink-IRR-NOM there-DIR
water there, I’ll be able to drink, I’ll be able to

mu̱-mukwi-kya-vaa-chi̱ má-naaghạ̱” máy-pʉga.
RED-stick.nose-ANT-IRR-NOM there-in say-REM
stick my nose down in there” he said.

ˈʉvʉs ˈura-pʉga; ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-sapạ̱ ˈúru̱ ˈura-pʉga;
end be-REM there-at-go-MOD that/s be-REM
So that was that; that was as far as it went;

ˈu-vwaa-sapạ̱-ˈura tʉ̱pʉy-kwa-pʉga, púupa ˈura-qa-nạ̱; ˈʉvʉs-ˈura.
there-at-MOD-be end-go-REM way be-ANT-REL end-be
that’s where it ended, the way it was; that’s the end.[1]

1. While Bobcat and Coyote traded mischief here, Coyote seems to have come out on top.

PART III

Anger, vengeance and other pitfalls

Introduction

The four stories grouped under this section are thematically less unified than either the Sinawav or Coyote cycles. They deal with several unsavory facets of human behavior, beginning with anger and its destructive power. Rabbit, whose malevolent nature has already been noted above (17), stands out in the first two stories (22), (23) as the paradigm of anger and vengeance. In the first instance (22), Rabbit's anger is triggered by Sun poking him in the eye at dawn, but especially by the use of his 'mad-name' (*tuu-nía-vi̲*). This opens up a vast cultural domain concerning the significance of the multiple names that one may assume, or be given, over one's lifetime.

The theme of anger and revenge crops up again in story (24), where Night Hawk becomes 'medicine-mad' because the Pinyon-Jays had killed his nephew Bat; that because Bat had messed up with their wives during a night-dance. Night Hawk, a medicine man (*puwa-gha-tʉ̲*), then practices bad-medicine (*'ʉ̶vʉ̶-puwa-vʉ̲*) on the Pinyon-Jays, giving them their 'curse-name', presumably a less-than-desirable name one may get stuck with.

The theme of sexual misconduct and wife-snatching recurs in story (25), where Bear seduces, and then runs away with, Mountain-Lion's wife. Vengeance is not far behind, whereby Mountain-Lion kills Bear. To justify her pecadillo, the wayward wife then claims that nothing offensive had happened – since bear only mates in the spring.

TEXT 22

Rabbit getting mad

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Neil Cloud
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

Tavʉchi̲ 'uwas 'ura-pʉga, wíitʉs-'uru; kách… chíi-magu'na-pʉgay-'u
rabbit/S 3s/S be-REM past-that NEG sharp-poke-REM-3s
There was Rabbit, long ago; no… (the Sun) used to poke that Rabbit sharply

'uway tavʉchi, pʉ̲-pʉi-kʉ̲-'u… ká-pʉ̲-pʉi-na-pʉa;
that/O rabbit/O RED-sleep-SUB-3s NEG-RED-sleep-HAB-REM/NEG
(with its rays), when he was asleep… so he could never sleep (well);

'uwas-'ura-'uru marʉ, tavachi marʉ mawisi̲-kʉ̲-'uru,
3s/S-be-that that/G sun/G the/G appear-SUB-that
so the sun, whenever it rose,

chíi-magu'na-miya-'u-kway; kh-'ura-'uru 'uwas na'ay'a̲-kwa-pʉga; 'uwas
sharp-poke-HAB-3s-MOD then-be-that 3s/S angry-go-REM 3s/S
would poke him sharply; then he would get mad; now in those

'u tavʉchi 'uway níaa 'úrʉ̲-'ura 'ʊtʊvʉ̲-pacha-vʉchi̲ ['ura-pʉga];
the/S rabbit/G the/G name that/S-be hard.leather-shoe-DIM be-REM
days Rabbit's name was really 'Little-Hard-Leather-Shoe';

máay níaa-gha-tʉ̲ 'uwas-'uru…[1]
3s/G name-have-NOM 3s/S-that
that was his (real) name…

'uwas-'ura na'ay'a̲-kwa-chi̲-'uru, págha̲-kwa-pʉga, 'uwa-vaa-chawi̲
3s/S-be angry-go-SUB-that go-go-REM 3s/O-LOC-come
So then when he got mad, Rabbit took off, going towards

1. The name *tavʉchi̲* itself means 'little foot'.

'uru tavachi mawisi-mi-tukhwa; na'ay'a-kwa-pʉga, marʉ tavachi,
that/O sun/G appear-LOC-go angry-go-REM that/O sun/O
where that Sun rose; he got (real) mad, at that Sun,

ma-vaa-chawi 'uni-'a-pʉga, paghay-kwa-pʉga-'ura.
there-at-come do-??-REM walk-go-REM-be
and he went after it, he took off (after it) walking that-a-way.

paghay-'wa-ku-'ura-'uru, 'i-vee-ni wáy-ni… wáy-ni 'uni-'ni-pʉga
walk-IMM-SUB-be-that here-at-like two-S two-S be-INT-REM
As he was walking, right there two… two of them were there

tʉpʉychi 'ú-rʉkwa… 'úniguni-'ura 'ayʊʊvʉ-chi-u 'ura-pʉga,
rock/O there-under sudden-be dove-DIM-PL be-REM
under a rock… lo, they were little doves,

wáa-míipʉ-vʉchi-u; 'úmʉ-'ura 'uru tʉpʉychi-amʉ 'u-rʉkwa-kwa…
two-small-DIM-PL 3p/s-be that/O rock/3p there-under-go
two tiny ones; they were there under that rock… they were

'u-rʉkwa-kwa-tʉ chʉkur'a-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-tʉ-amʉ ku-kuchi-piyoghwa-pʉga;
there-under-go-DIR poke-REM there-at-DIR-3p RED-suck-pull-REM
poking around under there, pulling something out; that's where their

'úru-'ura-'uru tʉpʉychi 'u-rʉkwa-khwa 'avi-pʉga pía-chi-gyapʉ[-amʉ];
that-be-that rock/O there-under-go lie-REM mother-DIM-DEFUN-3p
dead mother was lying there under the rock;

tugu-va-'uru, tʉpʉychi 'úru 'u-páqha-kwa-pʉga 'uwa-vaa-tʉkwa;
up-at-that rock/S the/S there-kill-go-REM 3s/O-at-under
up there, the rock had (rolled over her and) killed her under there;

'u-rʉkwa-'ura 'uwas 'avi-vi-chi-s.
there-under-be 3s/S lie-NOM-NOM-S
she was lying under there.

kh-'ura-'uru ['uwas-'ura] 'umʉ-vaa-chugwa-pʉga: "'ipʉ-amʉ 'ini-kh?"
then-be-that 3s/s-be 3p-at-go-REM WH/O-3p do-IMM
So Rabbit went toward the two little doves: "What are you doing?"

"'i-vee-nʉmʉ-s tʉka-pʉsaghay-chi-mi" [máy-pʉgay-'u]
here-at-1p-C eat-search-NOM-HAB say-REM-3S
(he asked them); "here we are looking for food" they told him

chʉkur'a-chi-miya-amʉ; pikya-vʉni-kya-pʉ-mʉ kh-'ura 'umʉs 'ura-pʉga;
poke-NOM-go-3p sore-look-PASS-NOM-PL then-be 3p/s be-REM
as they were poking around; they seemed covered with sores;

'umʉs-'ura-'uru… 'uwas-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh 'áy-pʉga: "'uvwiya-gha
3p/s-be-that 3s/s-be-that there-at-it say-REM HORT-PAR
then they… so Rabbit said: "Go ahead and sit down

ma-vaa-kwa karʉ-ghwa" 'áy-pʉga, "kachʉ-mʉ-'ura nʉ́-vwaa-chʉ
there-at-go sit-go/IMP say-REM NEG-2s-be 1s-at-DIR
right over there" he said, "and don't

pʉni-vaa-pʉa-y" 'áy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, "kwée-tugwa-amʉ karʉ-nʉ!"
look-IRR-NOM/NEG-O say-REM-be 3s/s away-go-2p sit-IMP
look my way" he told them, "and sit facing the other way!"

máy-pʉga-'ura; kwée-tugwa-sʉ-mʉ karʉ-pʉ-chi-gya, kh-'ura-'uru tavʉchi
say-REM-be ??-DIR-go-C-PL sit-NOM-NOM-PAR then-be-that rabbit/s
he told them; so while the two doves were sitting facing the other way, Rabbit

'u 'uru tʉpʉychi 'i-mi-tukhwa tʉravi-pʉga, kutu-'u-kway
the/s that/O rock/O here-LOC-go throw-REM butt-3s-MOD
rolled that rock off (their dead mother), his butt

'a-'áka-kusi-'ni sʉʉ-ri-kwa-'u; 'ú sú-iini pʉnikya-pʉga[y-'u];
RED-red-glow-INT/IMM strong-become-go-3s that/s one-S see-REM-3s
turning glowing red (from the effort); well one of the doves saw him;

"'ʉ́ʉʉ!" 'áy-pʉga; súu-chi-ni: "toghoy-ni, kutu-kway-gya-na-'u
INTJ say-REM one-NOM-S well-like butt-MOD-have-REL-3s
"'ʉ́ʉʉ!" he called; and the other (said): "Well, his butt is

'a-'áka-kusi-'ni!" 'áy-pʉga; kh-'ura sú-iini 'áy-pʉga: "kachʉ-'a
RED-red-glow-INT say-REM then-be one-S say-REM NEG-3s
glowing red! " he said; so then the first one said: "Don't look,

pʉni-nʉ-vaa-'wa-ni máy-kya núgway" 'áy-pʉga súwa-'ava-chi-chi-mʉ.
look-IMP-IRR-NEG-FUT say-ANT TOP say-REM almost-big-NOM-DIM-AN
that's what he told us" said the slightly bigger one.

'ú-amʉ-'ura-'uru tʉkapi-amʉ nawi-na-mi-tukhwa 'ini-kʉ-pʉga 'ú
there-3p-be-that food-3s open-LOC-LOC-go do-BEN-REM that/s
So that way Rabbit got their food out into the open for them,

tavʉchi, 'u-vwa-s 'ú-vway-'ura pía-amʉ 'uway 'avi-ku-'uru,
rabbit/s there-at-C there-at-be mother-3p the/O lie-SUB-that
then with their mother lying there,

nachitʊ'ʊ-'napʉ-m-av kwi-kwipa-u-pʉga-s; 'uwas-'ura
walking.cane-INSTR-with-OWN RED-hit-INC-REM-C 3s/s-be
he began hitting her with his walking cane; and she then

kʉrʉkɨ-pʉga, pi-via-amʉ 'u, kh-'ura pía-ta-pʉga;
get.up-REM RED-mother-3p the/s then-be mother-be-REM
got up, their mother, so now they had a mother again;

toghoy-kʉ-amʉ-'uru, pághą-kwa-pʉga.
well-SUB-3p-that go-go-REM
and when they were well, Rabbit took off.[2]

'ʉ́ʉʉ… máa-pa 'uni-'ą-pʉga, tą-tavachi mawisi-mi[-na]-tukhwą;
INTJ there-DIR do-??-REM RED-sun/G appear-LOC-REL-go
'ʉ́ʉʉ… he went that-a-way toward where the sun rises; and he kept

manu-khʉ-tʉ-a-s tʉvʉy-pagha-na-pʉga: "'ʉ́mʉ 'agha-ni-paa-tʉ?"
all-O-NOM-O-C ask-go-HAB-REM 2s/s WH-do-IRR-NOM
asking everybody: "What will you do (when the sun comes scorching)?"

máy-pagha-na-pʉga; 'uru maavʉ 'uwa-vaa-chʉ… 'áa-'u-vwaa-ni
say-go-HAB-REM that/O bush/O 3s/O-at-DIR very-there-at-like
he kept asking; (he asked) that bush… he came very close there

tʉgay-pʉga…
approach-REM
(to where the sun rises)…

kh-'ura sú-iinɨ 'u… 'uwas-'ura-'uru… ma'a-vʉchɨ 'ura-mi…
then-be other-s the/s 3s/s-be-that bush-DIM/S be-HAB
Then there was another one… it was that… a tiny bush…

ka-pa'a-chi-wa-tʉ… kʉʉ-gwana-vɨ máy-kya-mi-pʉ…
NEG-tall-NOM-NEG-NOM gum-smell-NOM say-PASS-HAB-NOM
not a tall one… Gum-Bush they call it…

'úrʉ-'ura-'uru 'áy-pʉga: "nʉ́-kʉ nʉ́-vwa-agha-tʉ "tsʉ́ʉ-kʉ́ʉ"
that-be-that say-REM 1s-EM 1s-at-have-NOM INTJ
that one said: "Now me, it will pass over me saying "tsʉʉ-kʉʉ"

máy-paa-tʉ na'ay-chɨ" 'áy-pʉga;
say-IRR-NOM burn-SUB say-REM
as it burns" he told Rabbit.

'úrʉ-'ura-'uru 'uwas 'u kʉtu-a-'a-m tʉna-vaa-tʉ 'ʊra-pʉga;
that-be-that 3s/s the/s butt-G-3s-with root-at-DIR dig-REM
So right away Rabbit dug a hole there at the roots (of the gum-bush)

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2. This piece of benevolent behavior by Rabbit is somewhat out of character vis-a-vis the rest of the story.

'ɵra-pʉgay-kʉ-'uru… kh-'ura-'uru… 'ɵra-maku-chaa-kʉ-'uru,
dig-REM-SUB-that then-be-that dif-finish-INC-SUB-that
with his butt; and having dug it… then… when he had finished digging,

pághʉ-kwa-pʉga… 'áaa… 'uni-'wʉ-pʉga… "pa'a-kʉtupʉ na'a-vaa-tʉ"
go-go-REM INTJ do-??-REM complete-butt/O burn-IRR-NOM
he took off… 'áaa… he wandered around (asking others what will happen)…

máy-kya-na-pʉ 'urus manu-khʉ-tʉ-s; maavʉ [máy-kya-pʉga]: "tʉpʉychi
say-ANT-REL-NOM that/s all-O-NOM-C bush/s say-ANT-REM rock/s
"The whole stump will burn down" that's what they all warned him; but the

yaqhi-paa-tʉ kʉturuuchi-'aa-chi" máy-pʉga, 'ú-'uru-sapʉ máy-pʉga,
break-IRR-NOM hot-??-SUB say-REM that/s-that-MOD say-REM
gum-bush had said: "The rock will crumble when it gets hot" he had said,
that's what he had said, the

kʉʉ-gwanavi 'u; 'úrʉ-'ura-'uru kani-chʉ-chi-'uru, pághʉ-kwa-vachi.
gum-smell/s the/s that-be-that house/O-build-SUB-that go-go-BG
Gum-Bush; so having built his shelter right there, Rabbit took off.

'ʉ́ʉʉ… 'áa-'i-vaa-ni-'a tʉgay-pachi tavachi marʉ
INTJ very-here-at-like-3s approach-BG sun/O the/O
'ʉ́ʉʉ… he came very close to where the sun rises;

mawisi-mi[-na]-pa; 'u-vwaa-tugwa-khwʉ-kʉ-vachi, 'uwas-'ura-'uru tavachi
appear-HAB-REL-DIR there-at-go-go-SUB-BG 3s/s-be-that sun/s
when he came near there, the Sun broke out,

mawisi-vachi, chíi-mʉkwi-tʉ-'u kh-'ura-mi 'uway tavʉchi,
appear-BG sharp-poke-NOM-3s then-be-HAB 3s/O rabbit/O
poking that Rabbit sharply (in the eye),

mawisi-kʉ-'uru; 'uwas-'ura 'ɵaa-khwʉ-pachi-ukh 'uru tavachi…
appear-SUB-that 3s/s-be back-go-BG-it that/O sun/O
when it rose; but he ran back behind the sun…

yáqhi-ti-pachi-ukh 'uru tavachi: "tavachi máy-kya-paa-pʉ,
crack-CAUS-BG-it that/O sun/O sun say-PL-IRR-NOM
and he cracked that Sun hard: "They will call you Sun, so that you

ka-tuú-'a-vaa-tʉ!" 'áy-pʉgay-kʉ-'ura.
NEG-mean-have/NEG-IRR-NOM say-REM-it-be
shouldn't be mean!" he told it.

'urus-'ura kuna-tavi-navichi-kwa-pʉga manu-khʉ-paa-tukhwʉ;
that/s-be fire-step-MASS-go-REM all-O-DIR-go
Well now the Sun started splashing fire all over everything;

'uwas-'ura qhaqhaarʉ-pʉchi-gya… 'ú́ʉʉ… 'uru kʉʉ-gwana-vaa-tukhwa;
3s/s-be run-DIM-PAR INTJ that/O gum-smell-at-go
and Rabbit took off running… 'ú́ʉʉ… toward that Gum-Bush;

'uru-kway tʉgay-khu… má-raa-sapa… 'uru-kway tʉgay-pʉga,
that/O-MOD approach-SUB that-be-MOD that/O-MOD approach-REM
when he came close to it… that kind… he came close to it,

'uwa-vaa-khwa-tʉ tavi-navichi-pʉga 'urus; 'úru-'ura-'uru 'ʊtʊ-kwa-rʉ
3s/s-at-go-DIR step-MASS-REM that/s that/s-be-that brown-have-ADJ
the Sun splashed (fire) all over him; that's why Rabbit's

'ura-vachi 'úru pʉʉ-a-'u, kwiya-pʉga-tʉ;
be-BG that/s fur-G-3s burn-REM-NOM
fur is brown, it burned.

['uwas-'ura] karʉ-pʉga, pa'a-manu-khu-tʉ-s na'ay-kwa-pʉga; kh-'ura
3s/s-be sit-REM complete-all-O-NOM-C fire-go-REM then-be
Well so Rabbit was sitting there (under the Gum-Bush), and everything

pághа-kwa-pʉga 'ú-vway-aqh, 'áaaa-ni 'uni-'wa-pʉga; kh-'ura 'i-vee-ni
go-go-REM there-at-it very-like do-??-REM then-be here-at-like
was burning; finally he took off, he moved on very far; then right

'uni-'ni-pʉga kwiyaghatʉ, 'uru payuki-u-ku-'u; kh-'ura 'áy-vachi:
do-INT-REM bear/s that/O return-INC-SUB-3s then-be say-BG
there there was a Bear, right when Rabbit came back; so he said:

"máchaa" 'áy-vachi. "'ipʉ-aa 'ani-kh 'ʊra-gha?" máy-vachi; 'únigun-'ura
hi say-BG WH-O do-IMM dig-PAR say-BKGR sudden-be
"Hi" he said, "what are you doing digging here?" he asked; and lo,

kani-chʉ-ga 'uni-vachi 'ú kwiyaghatʉ; "'uway [tavachi]-aa?"
house-build-PAR do-BG that/s bear/s 3s/O sun/O Q
that Bear was building a house there; "Well how about the Sun?"

máy-vachi-'ura; "'íi-pa, 'i-vee-'a paghay-'way, tavachi, núu-mʉ-s
say-BG-be here-DIR here-at-3s walk-IMM sun/s person-PL/O-C
Rabbit asked; "He's been through here already, the Sun, walking and

suwa-paghay-gya" máy-ta-vachi-'ura, "máy-ta-nʉ-s; 'ani-kh 'ú-tʉkwa
swallow-walk-PAR say-PASS-BG-be say-PASS-1s-C do-IMM there-under
swallowing people" Rabbit was told, "So I am told; so I am busy digging

'áa-gha paqhay-kya-vaa-chi 'ʊra-gha kani-cʉ-vwaa"; máy-vachi-'uru
quiet-PAR hide-ANT-IRR-NOM dig-PAR house-build-IRR say-BG-that
under here and building a house so I can hide quietly" that

'ú kwiyaghatʉ;
that/s bear/s
Bear told him;

"'agha-ni-u-paa-ni-aa 'uru 'iya-qhaqhaarʉ-chi?" máy-vachi-'ura
WH-do-INC-IRR-FUT-Q that/O fear-run-NOM say-BG-be
"But what will you do when you have to run scared?" Rabbit

'uwas, "'agha-ni-tugwaa-ni tʉgay-u-vaa[-ku]-ni, 'uru tavachi maay-chi,
3s/s WH-do-go-like approach-INC-IRR-like that/G sun/G see-SUB
asked Bear, "Where will you go when he comes close, when the Sun can

máy-ta 'uru nʉka-ta-khu? máy-vachi-'ura; "'ʉvʉs-'ura, 'uni-'wa!"
say-PASS that/O hear-PASS-SUB say-BG-be end-be do-??/IMP
see (you), that is when he can hear you?" he asked; "Now go ahead,

máy-vachi-'ura; 'uru má-naagha yʉga-khwa-pachi ['ú kwiyaghatʉ].
say-BG-be that/O there-in enter-go-BG that/s bear/s.
do it (show me)!" he said; so Bear went into (his shelter).

'uwa-'ura kuvuaa-gha-tʉ yáa'wa-vʊrʊ-vachi, chigisi-av, tavʉchi
3s/s-be edge-have-NOM/O carry-go-BG spear/O-OWN rabbit/s
Now he was carrying along his sharp-edged (spear), his spear, Rabbit

'u; "mani-paa-ni-nʉ-s" máy-vachi-'ura 'uwas, 'úu-pa
the/s do.like-IRR-FUT-2S-C say-BG-be 3s/s there-DIR
was; "I'm going to do like this" Bear had told him, running

tʉvway-kwa-pʉga, 'ú kwiyaghatʉ, "'ʉvʉs-'ura qhaqhaarʉ! 'úru-'ura
descend-go-REM that/s bear/s end-be run/IMP that-be
down that-a-way (into his shelter), that Bear, "Now you run! And place your

chigisi-av 'uru kani-tʉkwa-naagha 'uru wʉ-wʉni-ti-paa-chi-ukh
spear/O-OWN the/O house/O-under-in the/O RED-stand-CAUS-IRR-NOM-it
spear standing down there inside the hole (pointing gesture)!"

pana-kwa-tukhwa!" máy-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura 'u-naagha yʉga-khwa-pachi…
away-go-go say-REM 3s/s-be there-in enter-go-BG
he told him; then Bear hurriedly entered in there (the hole)…

'úʉʉ… 'uru chigisi-mi-tʉ-'u kwipa-u-pachi, 'iya-qhaqhaarʉ-chi
INTJ that/O spear/O-LOC-DIR-3s hit-INC-BG fear-run-SUB
'úʉʉ… and he hit that standing sharp spear, as he was running scared

máy-gya; 'u-vwaa-tugwa-'u paqha-khwa-pachi-'u; máy-pʉ-tugwa-'u…
say-PAR there-at-go-3s kill-go-BG-3s say-NOM-go-3s
that is; and right there Rabbit killed him; Bear had called him…

tavʉchi̲ máy-pʉ-tugwa-'u, 'uni-pachi̲; 'urus nia-a-'u 'urus
rabbit say-NOM-go-3s do-BG that/s name-G-3s that/s
'Rabbit' he called him, he did; whereas his real name is

"'ʊtʊ-pacha-vʉchi̲" 'ura-'ay.
dry.leather-shoe-DIM be-IMM
'Little Dry-Leather Shoe'.[3]

'ʉvʉs, págha̲-kwa-vachi̲, chukwi'na-vachi̲-'u, 'uway kwiyaghatʉ,
end go-go-BG skin-BG-3s that/O bear/O
Well, so Rabbit took off, he skinned him, that Bear,

pʉʉ-a-y-'a kʉʉ-vachi̲, 'úu-pa-s sʉnʉvʉ ma-yaghoch'a-vachi̲,
fur-G-O-3s take-BG there-DIR-C cedar.bark hand-stuff-BG
and took his pelt and stuffed it like that with cedar bark,

chʉka-u-vachi̲-ukh, kh-'ura 'uni-'a-vachi̲, tʉpʉy-paya-agha-tʉ-pa; 'áaa…
lead-INC-BG-it then-be do-??-BG rock-side-have-NOM/O-DIR INTJ
then dragged it behind him, then going, toward the cliff; 'áaa… he went

'uni-'a̲-vachi̲ 'i-vee-chi̲ paya-ma-tʉ, tʉpʉy-kiya-sóʊchi[-u]; "tavʉchi̲!
do-??-BG here-at-NOM side-LOC-DIR rock-laugh-peep-PL rabbit
right here, to the side where the Rock Swallows (were roosting); "Rabbit!

'ʉmʉy… kwiyaghatʉ-mʉ̲ whchi-y!" máy-ta-vachi̲-'ura,
2s/O bear-2s catch.up-IMM say-PASS-BG-be
The Bear is catching up with you!" he was told (by the swallows),

"'ʉmʉy-vina-kwa-'a!" máy-kya-pachi-mʉ̲-'ura-'u, tʉpʉy-kiya-sʊʊchi[-u],
2s/O-follow-go-3s say-PL-BG-PL-be-3s rock-laugh-peep-PL
"He's right behind you!" they told him, the rock swallows did,

pa-paya-ma-y, wichichi-u; kiya-'ni-kya-mi-tʉ-mʉ̲-'uru
RED-side-LOC-O bird-PL laugh-INT-PL-HAB-NOM-PL-that
up there on the cliff-side, those birds; they laugh

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3. Rabbit's mad-name was *ta-vʉchi̲*, historically 'little-foot'. One's mad-name, *tuu-nia-vi̲*, is a secret private name that is not to be used by others, perhaps only by intimates. A young man would be given his mad-name upon entering the warrior society. Someone would use his mad-name to goad him into rash action. 'Dried-leather-little-shoe' was presumably the more acceptable euphemism for 'little-foot'.

'ura-vachi-mʉ̲ 'úmʉ̲.
be-BG-PL 3p/s
(at people).[4]

'uwas-'ura 'u-vwaa-tʉ pʉni-wʉnʉ-vachi̲: "'agha-vaay-amʉ̲?" máy-kh,
3s/s-be there-at-DIR look-stand-BG WH-at-3p say-IMM
So Rabbit was standing and looking that-a-way: "Where are they?" he

máy-kya-ni-'uru, "'u-vwa-na-amʉ̲ kani-gya[-y]!" 'áy-vachi̲-'ura
say-ANT-like-that there-at-LOC-3p house-have-IMM say-BG-be
wondered, "they must have their house somewhere there!"

'uwas-'uru; [kh-'ura]: "mʉ́ni̲-aa piya-mu̲sutkwivi 'ugwi-kya-ni-vee-ni?"
3s/s-that then-be 2p-Q sweet-medicine/O smell-PL-??-IRR-FUT
he said; then (he said): "Would you like to smell my sweet medicine?"

máy-vachi-s-'ura 'uwas 'ú-vway-aqh; "tʉna-kwa-ukh tʉravi̲!"
say-BG-C-be 3s/s there-at-t up-go-it throw/IMP
he asked the Rock Swallows then; "You throw it up here!"

máy-kya-pachi-mʉ̲-'ura 'umʉs; 'úniguni̲-'ura tagha-vaya-vaa-tʉ̲
say-PL-BG-PL-be 3p/s sudden-be crotch-side-at-NOM
they told him; and lo, it was (stashed) there at his crotch;

'ura-vachi̲-'uru; ma-vʉ́ʉtʉ̲khwa-vachi̲-ukh-'ura 'uwas, 'u-vwaa-na̲
be-BG-that hand-bundle-BG-it-be 3s/s there-at-LOC
so he bundled it up (and threw it), up there

'umʉ-vaa-chʉ-ukh: "'átʉ pʉ-pʉni̲-kya-nʉ kh-'ura!" máy-pʉga,
3p/O-at-DIR-it well RED-look-PL-IMP then-be say-REM
to them: "You guard it well now!" he said,

tʉravi̲-pachi̲-ukh 'umʉ-na̲-tarugwa̲ tíi… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… kʉʉ[-ka]-vachi-mʉ̲
throw-BG-it 3p/O-LOC-climb high INTJ take-PL-BG-PL
and threw it up there to them up high… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… and they caught it;

'umʉs; "pa'a-manu-ni-aqh 'ugwi-kya[-vaa]-ni-nʉ!" máy-vachi̲-'ura 'uwas,
3p/s complete-all-S-it smell-PL-IRR-FUT-IMP say-BG-be 3s/s
"Now you all smell it!" he said, "then throw it

"'úu-pa-s-aqh-'ura tʉ̲-tʉravi-nʉ pana-khwa-yis!" 'úu-pa-s-aqh-'ura
there-DIR-C-it-be RED-throw-IMP back-go-C there-DIR-C-it-be
like that back to me!" So they threw it like that down back to him,

4. Alluding to their name 'laughing-peeping'.

tʉravi̱-kya-pachi̱ 'umʉs, pa'a-manu-ni 'uwa-qha-khwa-vachi-mʉ̱ 'umʉs.
throw-PL-BG 3p/s complete-all-S fall-PL-go-BG-PL 3p/s
then all of them fell down (off the cliff; by the power of Rabbit's medicine).

'u-vwaa-tugwa-amʉ̱ tʉpʉy-kiya-sóʊ-máama̱chi-u qo-qho'ay-pachi-s;
there-at-go-3p rock-laugh-peep-women-PL RED-slaughter-BG-C
So right there Rabbit slaughtered the rock-swallow women;[5]

'ʉvʉs 'ura-vachi̱, 'u-vwaa-tugwa-sapa̱-aqh 'ura-vachi-s-'uru.
end be-BG there-at-go-MOD-it be-BG-C-that
that's the end, that's the way it went.

5. The Rock Swallows offended Rabbit by calling him by his 'mad-name', so their quick demise was his revenge.

TEXT 23

How angry Rabbit got his brown spots

told by: Bertha B. Groves[1]
date recorded: 2-29-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Bertha B. Groves

'uwas 'ura-pʉga, tavʉchi̱; kachu-'u tavʉchi̱ máy-kya-na-pʉga wíitʉs;
3s/s be-REM rabbit/s NEG-3s rabbit say-PL-HAB-REM past
There was Rabbit; in those old days they didn't call him 'rabbit';

'uwas-'ura pʉi-na-pʉga, tavachi̱-'ura, márʉ̱… tavachi̱ mawisi-na-pʉga,
3s/s-be sleep-HAB-REM sun/s-be that/s sun/s appear-HAV-REM
he used to sleep (late), and the Sun, that… it used to rise and trick him,

sicha'wi̱-na-pʉgay-'u, kwa̱-kwásʉ̱-na-pʉgay-'u, mani-na-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas-'ura
trick-HAB-REM-3s RED-burn-HAB-REM-3s do.like-HAB-REM-3s 3s/s-be
burn him all over, doing like this to him (poking gesture); and he would

na'ay'a̱-na-pʉga, tʉ́sapa̱ tavachi̱ 'u mawisi-gya, sicha'wi-na-pugay-'u.
angry-HAB-REM always sun/s the/s appear-PAR trick-HAB-REM-3s
get mad, always when the sun was rising, it would play tricks on him.

pina-khwa̱ 'uwas na'ay'a̱-kwa-pʉga, na'ay'a-chi̱ 'uwas máy-pʉga:
follow-go 3s/s angry-go-REM angry-SUB 3s/s say-REM
So finally he got real mad, and in his anger he said:

"'agha-ni-gupʉ-sapa-nʉ̱ 'ura-'ay?" máy-pʉga, págha̱-kwa-pʉga
WH-do-SUBJ-MOD-1s be-IMM say-REM go-go-REM
"What could I do?" he said, and then he took off

'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̱; paghay'wa̱-na-pʉga 'uwas, paghay'wa̱-gha 'uwas
3s/O-at-go walk-HAB-REM 3s/s walk-PAR 3s/s
towards the Sun; he kept walking, and as he was walking he

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1. This story is another variant of (22), above.

'áy-pʉga: "'ʉ́mʉ̲-'ara 'agha-ni-u-paa-tʉ̲-'uru naguch'a-khu̲-aqh
say-REM 2s/s-be WH-do-INC-IRR-NOM-that burn-SUB-it
said (asking everybody around): "What will you do when (the Sun) scorches

'ichay tʉvʉpʉ?" máy-pagha-na-pʉga.
this/O earth/O say-go-HAB-REM
this earth?" he kept asking around.

tʉpʉychi[-'ura] tʉvʉyi̲-pʉga 'uwas: "'agha-ni-u-paa-tʉ̲
rock/O-be ask-REM 3s/s WH-do-INC-IRR-NOM
So first he asked a rock: "What will you do if it (the earth)

naguch'ay-kwa-aqh?"; "paghacha̲'ay-kwa̲-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas;
burn-go-it crack-go-ANT-IRR-NOM say-REM-be 3s/s
got scorched?" "I'll crack up immediately" said the rock;

"'ʉmʉy-s-aa?" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, maavʉ wʉnʉ-rʉ 'uwas 'áy-pʉga;
2s/O-C-Q say-REM-be 3s/s bush/O stand-ADJ/O 3s/s say-REM
"Well how about you?" he asked, he asked a standing bush;

"nʉ́-saa naguch'a-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; páaqhachi-naagha̲
1s/s-TOP burn-go-IRR-NOM say-REM-be 3s/s hole/O-in
"I will burn" said the bush; then Rabbit entered a hole:

yʉga-pʉga-s: "'ʉmʉy-saa 'agha-ni-u-paa-tʉ̲?"; "nʉ́-saa
enter-REM-C 2s/O-TOP WH-do-INC-IRR-NOM 1s/s-TOP
"What would you do?" (he asked the hole); "I will

paghacha̲'ay-kwa-vaa-tʉ-s, tʉvʉpʉ ku̲turuuchi-'aa-chi̲,
crack-go-IRR-NOM-C earth/G hot-??-SUB
crack up, when the earth gets real hot, and I will

yoghoc'a-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲"; "'ʉmʉy-saa?" máy-pʉga páa-y; "nʉ́-saa
crumble-go-IRR-NOM 2s/O-TOP say-REM water-O 1s/s-TOP
crumble" (said the hole); "How about you?" Rabbit then asked the water;

ni-niyoghwa-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲, tavasi-vee-tʉ̲' [máy-pʉga-'ura 'urus].
RED-boil-go-IRR-NOM dry-IRR-NOM say-REM-be that/s
"I will boil and go dry" said the water.

máy-pagha-na-pʉga 'uwas, manu-khu̲-tʉ̲-aa-s tʉvʉy-pagha-na-pʉga;
say-go-HAB-REM 3s/s ann-O-NOM-O-C ask-go-HAB-REM
Well Rabbit kept saying that, he kept asking everybody;

pina-khwa̲-'ura-'uru kʉʉ-gwanavʉ… kʉchoghwa-'napu̲ máy-kya-mi-na̲
follow-go-be-that rubber-smell/O chew-INSTR say-PL-HAB-REL
then finally (he came to) a Gum-Bush… (the one) they call 'chewing-gum'

núgway… ma'a-vʉchi̲ wʉnʉ-rʉ, 'ʊa-si'ichi̲: "'ʉmʉy-s-aa
TOP bush-DIM stand-ADJ yellow-flower 2s/O-C-Q
I think… a tiny standing bush, with yellow flowers: "What will

'agha-ni-u-paa-tʉ̲?"; "ka-'agha-ni-vaa-'wa-tʉ̲" 'áy-pʉga 'uwas, "Whhhh…
WH-do-INC-IRR-NOM NEG-WH-do-IRR-NEG-NOM say-REM 3s/s INTJ
you do?" (he asked it); "I won't do anything" the Gum-Bush said, "The Sun

máy-vaa-tʉ̲ nʉ́-vwaa-agha-tʉ̲, 'ʉrʉvuu wʉnʉ-vwaa-tʉ̲" máy-pʉga 'uwas;
say-IRR-NOM 1s-at-over-NOM still stand-IRR-NOM say-REM 3s/s
will make a "whhhh"… sound and go over my head, and I will still be standing"

'uwas-'ura "nʉ́ʉʉʉ…" 'áy-pʉga, págha̲-kwa-pʉga 'uwas.
3s/s-be INTJ say-REM go-go-REM 3s/s
he said; so Rabbit said: "Nʉ́ʉʉʉ…" and took off.

tavachi marʉ mawisi-vaa-kʉ̲ muway-'ni-na-pʉga; tʉvʉchi
sun/G the/G appear-IRR-SUB wait-INT-HAB-REM very/O
Well Rabbit kept waiting for the Sun to rise; he picked up a

pa'a-togho-tʉ kuvuaa-gha-tʉ ['ivichi] kʉʉ-ka-y, 'avi-pʉga; 'uwas
very-long-NOM/O tip-have-NOM/O stick/O take-ANT-IMM lie-REM 3s/s
long very sharp-tipped (stick), and lay there (waiting); well at last (the Sun)

'urus mawisi̲-pʉga, pʉsaghay-pʉgay-'u: "'agha-vaa-'u?" máy-pʉga,
that/s appear-REM seek-REM-3s WH-at-3s say-REM
it came out, and went looking for Rabbit: "Where is he?" the Sun asked,

"'agha-pa-u-kway-'u?"; mawisi̲-pʉga tíi: "'agha-pa-u-kway-'u?"
WH-DIR-INC-go-3s appear-REM high WH-DIR-INC-go-3s
"where has he gone?" It rose higher: "Where has he gone?"

'áy-paghay-pʉga, pʉsaghay-paghay-pʉgay-'u, kachu-'u maay-pʉa;
say-go-REM seek-go-REM-3s NEG-3s see-REM/NEG
it went around saying; it looked all over for him but couldn't find him;

'uwas 'i-vee 'avi-pʉga chaghachi-va̲; 'uwas mawisi̲[-kwa]-pʉga:
3s/s here-at lie-REM near-at 3s/s appear-go-REM
and Rabbit was lying near by; and the Sun kept rising higher:

"'agha-ni-uchaa-'u? 'agha-pa-'u paghay-kway-kya?" 'áy-pʉga.
WH-do-INC-3s WH-DIR-3s walk-go-ANT say-REM
"Where has he gone? Where has he taken off?" the Sun kept saying.

sichi'ni̲-pʉga; togho-sichi'ni̲-gu-s-'u, 'uwas-'ura 'uni-uchaa-'u;
peek-REM right-peek-SUB-s-3s 3s/s-be do-INC-3s
Well the Sun peeked (over the hump); and as it peeked, Rabbit poked it

"'ú̵u̵u̵…!" máy-pʉga 'uwas tavachi̱ 'uwa-vina-khwa-tʉ̵ kwiya'a̱-khwa-pʉga,
INTJ say-REM 3s/s sun/s 3s/O-follow-go-DIR/O burn-go-REM
(with his stick); "'ú̵u̵u̵…!" cried the Sun and went after him scorching,

naguch'a-pagha-pʉga 'ú-vway-aqh manu-kha̱-tʉ̵-s.
burn-go-REM there-at-it all-O-NOM/O-C
and everything (in its way) got burned then.

'ú̵u̵u̵… qha̱qhaara̱-pʉga 'uwas, 'ú̵u̵u̵… qha̱qhaara̱… píiya̱-qa-pʉga,
INTJ run-REM 3s/s INTJ run run-ANT-REM
'ú̵u̵u̵… Rabbit ran, 'ú̵u̵u̵… run… he ran…

nukwi-kya-na-pʉga… tʉvʉchi-sapa-ni… tʉpʉychi-vaa-tukhwa̱
run-ANT-HAB-REM very-MOD-like rock/O-at-go
he kept running… really… he reached the rock,

tugwa-khwa̱-pʉga, pa̱qha'ay-pʉga, chaghachi-va̱… ku̱turuuchi-chaa-chi̱,
go-go-REM hide-REM near-at hot-INC-SUB
and hid there, near (behind) it… and when it started getting real hot,

paghacha̱'ay-kwa̱-pʉga, qha̱qhaarʉ-pʉchi-gya-s 'uwas 'u.
crack-go-REM run-DIM-PAR-C 3s/s the/s
the rock cracked, so little Rabbit ran on.

'úniguni wa'apʉ 'ú-rʉkwa̱ paqha'ay-pʉchi-gya-s, naguch'a-pʉga-s
sudden pinyon/O there-under hide-DIM-PAR-C burn-REM-C
Then poor little Rabbit hid under a pinyon tree, but it too burned,

'urus, qha̱qhaara̱-pʉga-s 'uwas; páa-naagha̱ múusi-pʉga-s,
that/s run-REM-C 3s/s water-in hide-REM-C
so he ran on; next he hid in the water,

ni-niyoghwa-pʉga, qha̱qhaara̱-pʉga; 'urus 'uni-navichi̱-pʉga.
RED-boil-REM run-REM tha/s do-MASS-REM
but it soon boiled up, so he ran on; and all those things did the same.

'ú̵u̵u̵… 'uwa-na̱-tugwa-khwa̱-pʉga, 'u-vwaa-sapa-ni 'ura-'u-s
INTJ 3s/O-LOC-go-go-REM there-at-MOD-like be-3s-C
'ú̵u̵u̵… so finally he approached (Gum-Bush), where it was

wʉnʉ-pʉga, máy-kya-na̱-'u 'uru; 'ú-rʉkwa̱ 'uwas paqha'a-pʉga,
stand-REM say-PL-REL-3s that/O there-under 3s/s hide-REM
standing, whatever they call it; and he hid underneath there,

mani-khwa̱-pʉga; 'ícha̱-'ura 'uwa-vaagha̱ "Whhhh…" máy-u-pʉga…
do.like-go-REM this/s-be 3s/O-over INTJ say-INC-REM
doing like this (gesture); well this (the fire) hissed over him "Whhhh…"

'uru-tʉ̲-aa-s 'úru̲ 'ú-vwaagha̲-tʉ-s ku̲chapʉ̲ 'úru̲ mani-khwa̲-pʉga
that/O-NOM-O-C that/s there-over-NOM-C ashes/s the/s do.like-go-REM
it hissed… it went over it (the Gum-Bush) pouring ashes down like this

pana-khwa̲; 'icha-tʉ̲-a-vaa-tʉ̲-aa-'u, 'ɵtɵ-'ini-u-pʉga 'urus,
down-go this/O-NOM-G-NOM-G-3s brown-make-INC-REM that/s
on him; and (they fell) on parts of him, so his fur turned brown there (in spots),

kwiya-pʉgay-'u.
burn-REM-3s
he got burned.

'úru̲-'uru 'ura-pʉga, 'úru̲… 'úru̲ ka[-pa'a]-naguch'ay-wa-tʉ̲
that/s-that be-REM that/s that/s NEG-complete-burn-NEG-NOM
So that's how it was, it (Rabbit's fur) didn't burn up completely

'ura-vachi̲ 'uru-sapa̲ 'ura-pʉga, 'u̲-'úni̲-kya-u-pʉga-tʉ̲-'ara;
be-BG that-MOD be-REM RED-do-ANT-INC-REM-NOM-be
is what happened, it only got burned here and there (in spots);

'ú-'u togho-sapa̲-'ura 'ɵtɵ[-kwa-rʉ]-mʉ̲ 'ara-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲;
3s-3s right-MOD-be brown-have-ADJ-AN be-NOM-AN be-BG
this is why Rabbit is brown (in spots);

'íita-pacha-vʉchi̲ máy-kya-na-pʉga[y-'u] kh-'ura,
upside.down-shoe-DIM say-PL-HAB-REM-3s then-be
they used to call him 'Little Upside-Down Shoe' then,

tavʉchi̲ máy-kya-mi 'áavʉ̲.[2]
rabbit say-PL-HAB now
but they call him 'Rabbit' now.

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2. Rabbit's 'non-mad' name cited here, *'íita-pacha-vʉchi̲* 'little upside-down shoe', is somewhat different from Mollie Cloud's version. The explanation for why all the things Rabbit met on the way – except for Gum-Bush – got scorched by the sun can be inferred: they had all called Rabbit by his 'mad-name' (*tavʉchi̲*). Drawing the sun to burn them was Rabbit's revenge.

TEXT 24

How the Pinyon Jays got their curse-name

told by: Bertha B. Groves
date recorded: 9-29-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Bertha B. Groves

pa'acha'achi 'ura-na-pʉga; wíitʉs-'uru wichichi-u núuchi-u-gya-y
bat/s be-HAB-REM past-that bird-PL person-PL-be-IMM
There was Bat; long time ago the birds used to be

'ura-qa-'uru; súu-ku-mʉ-a-tʉ-s 'ura-na-pʉga pa'acha'achi'u,
be-PL-that other-O-AN-G-NOM-C be-HAB-REM bat/s the/s
humans; and the Bat used to belong to another clan,

tugwa-vóʊsachi-u 'ura-pʉga-vachi-mʉ,[1] 'úmʉ tugwa-yagha-vi-u 'úmʉ
night-hawk-PL be-REM-BG-PL 3p/s night-cry-NOM-PL the/s
he used to be (with) the Night-Hawks, they used to be Night-Criers;

'ura-pʉga-vachi-mʉ; kani-gya-na-pʉga-vachi-mʉ-'uru 'umʉ-ga; 'óʊʊ…
be-REM-BG-PL house-have-HAB-REM-BG-PL-that 3p/O-TOP INTJ
they used to live (with) them (the Pinyon Jays); 'óʊʊ…

tugwa-na-'uru, pa'acha'achi 'u nhka-rʉ-mʉ, 'umʉ
night-LOC-that bat/s the/s dance/PL-ADJ-PL
Now at night, Bat would (sneakily) approach them (the Pinyon Jays)

'i-na-kwa-paa-ma tʉga-'wi-ku, 'umʉ súuva-tʉ-mʉ-aa-ni
here-LOC-go-DIR-LOC approach-??-SUB 3p/O other-NOM-PL-O-like
as they danced right there, he would sneak toward where those others

'umʉ-aagha-vaa-chʉ págha-kwa-na-pʉga-vachi kwáa…
3p/O-have-at-DIR go-go-HAB-REM-BG fast
(Pinyon Jays' women, were dancing) and would then (try to) run away…

---

1. *'ura-pʉga-vachi-mʉ* has the nominal plural suffix -mʉ, thus 'they were', presumably referring to the entire Bat Clan. The story-teller corrects herself to plural subject in the next clause.

pa̲-paqha-nukwi-ta-qha-miya-'u-kway, kʉma-y-a-s-'u piwa-y
RED-beat-run-PASS-ANT-HB-3s-MOD stranger-O-G-C-3s spouse-O
but they (pinyon Jays) would beat him harshly, for messing up with a

'uni-kya-ku̲; 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ 'uwas mawisi-mi wíichkʉs kh-'ura,
do-ANT-SUB there-at-go 3s/s appear-HAB morrow then-be
stranger's stranger's wife; then he would appear again the following

'uroghwaani-mi; pʉ́ka-rʉga-mi kh-'ura 'ú-'u̲ni-gya-sapa̲
hurting-HAB hard-persist-HAB then-be RED-do-PAR-MOD
morning, all hurting; but he would persist doing

kh-'ura 'uwas, 'ú-'u̲ni-ta-sapa̲.
then-be 3s/s RED-do-PASS-MOD
it again, he kept doing it.

pina-khwa̲-'ura-s pa̲-paqha̲-kway-kya-pʉay-aghay-'u; wíichkʉs
follow-go-be-C RED-beat-go-PL-REM-CL-3s morrow
So finally they beat him real bad; the following morning

pía-'u kʉrʉki̲-pʉga: "kʉrʉki!" 'áy-pʉgay-'u-'ura,
mother-3s get.up-REM get.up/IMP say-REM-3s-be
his mother got up: "Get up!" she told him,

'uwas ká-kʉrʉki̲-pʉay-'u, 'ʉ́ʉ-'avi-pʉga 'uwas; pina-khwa̲
3s/s NEG-get.up-REM/NEG-3s just-lie-REM 3s/s follow-go
but he didn't get up, he just lay there; finally he started

piita̲'ani-pʉga'uwas, páapʉ píit'ani-pʉga, 'ʊʊ-aa-ghay-kya-na̲-av
vomit-REM 3s/s blood/O vomit-REM bone-G-have-ANT-REL-OWN
vomiting, he threw up blood, he threw up his

piita̲'ani-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura pía-'u sʉri'aa-pʉga… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… 'uni-aa-'u
vomit-REM 3s/s-be mother-3s fear-REM INTJ do-G-3s
own bones; so his mother got scared… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… so she

máy-pʉga, sʉnachi-u-'u 'ura-pʉga-vachi-mʉ̲ 'úmʉ̲-ga:
say-REM mat.uncle-PL-3s be-REM-BG-3s 3s/s-TOP
told (them) of his doings, they were his (two) uncles:

"'iya-nay-ni sʉnachi-amʉ̲ ká-'áy-wa!" máy-pʉga, "máasʉ-núvway
here-LOC-like nephew-2p NEG-well-NEG say-REM 3s/s-TOP
"Here is your nephew lying sick!" she said, "he's going to

ya'ay-kwa-vaa-ni, pa̲-paqha̲-kway-kyay-ku̲-'uru".
die-go-IRR-FUT RED-beat-go-ANT-SUB-that
die because they had beaten him".

'umʉs-'ura pu-vuwa-gha-tʉ-mu̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi-mu̲, kh-'ura-s
3p/s-be RED-power-have-NOM-PL/S be-REM-BG-PL then-be-C
Now the two uncles were medicine men, so they went to Bat,

'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ 'uni-khwa̲-pʉga, kh-'ura: "'agha-ni-kway-kya?"
3s/O-at-go do-go-REM then-be WH-do-PL-ANT
then (asked him): "What have they done to you?"

máy-pʉga; "'ʉ́ʉʉ… 'umʉ-nugway 'uni-wi̲-kʉ 'úmu̲… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…
say-REM INTJ 3p/O-TOP do-??-EM 3p/S INJ
they asked; "'ʉ́ʉʉ... those guys did it… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…

wichichi-u nʉ́-kʉ 'úmu̲… kani-gya-tʉ-mu̲ ma-vaa-kwa…"
bird-PL 1s-EM 3p/s house-have-NOM-PL there-at-go
those birds they… they live that-a-way over there…"

máy-pʉga-amu̲, "saghwa-gha̲-qa-tʉ-mu̲, 'umʉ-wa nʉ́-kʉ nhka-khu̲-amu̲,
say-rem-3p blue-have-PL-ADJ-PL 3p/o-with 1s/s-EM dance-SUB-3p
he told them, "those blue ones, when I was dancing with them,

'umʉ-wa pagha-'ni-mi… 'umʉ-kʉ nʉ́nay nʉ́-vwaa-chukhwa̲
3p/O-with go-INT-hab 3p/G-EM 1s/O 1s-at-go
I hang out with them… it's them who came and kept

'uwa-na-vachi̲" máy-pʉga-'ura, "pa̲-paqha̲-qa-nukwa̲ nʉ́nay,
jump-HAB-BG say-REM-be RED-beat-PL-TOP 1s/O
jumping me" he said, "they beat me so bad,

ta-ta'a-qa-kwa-'ay, nʉ́-'ura má-ra-sapa̲ pichu̲-i" máy-pʉga 'uwasʉ-ga.
RED-kick-PL-go-IMM 1s/S-be that-be-MOD arrive-IMM say-REM 3s/S-TOP
they kept kicking me, I have come back like this" he said.

'umʉs-'ura puwa-mani-kya-na-pʉgay-'u 'umʉsʉ-ga, kách, kachu-'u
3p/s-be power-do.like-PL-HAB-REM-3s 3p/S-TOP NEG NEG-3s
Well the two uncles kept medicating poor Bat, but they didn't, they

sa̲pigya-qa-pʉa, puwa-'ini-kya-qha[y-ku̲]… ya'ay-kwa̲-pʉga 'uwas 'u
can-PL-REM/NEG power-do-PL-ANT-SUB die-go-REM 3s/s the/s
couldn't (fix him), having treated him… he died, poor

pa'acha̲'achi̲; kh-'ura 'ú tugwa-vóʊsachi̲ na'ay-pʉga: "'ʉ́ʉʉʉ!"
bat/s then-be that/s night-hawk/s angry-REM INTJ
Bat did; then Night-Hawk (the uncle) got real mad: "'ʉ́ʉʉ!"

máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, "toghoy núgway!" 'áy-pʉga, "'ʉ́ʉʉ-n-aa nʉ́nay
say-REM-be 3s/s good TOP say-REM INTJ-1s-Q 1s/G
he said, "that's it!" he said, "now my

sʉnachi-n ya'ay-kwa, pa̲-paqha-khwa̲-kway-amʉ̲! 'áavʉ-nʉ-s-'ara nʉ́'
nephew-2s die-go RED-kill-go-PL-3p now-1s-C-be 1s/s
nephew is dead, they've done killed him! Now I am

puwa-na'ay-'ay!" 'i-vee[-ni] chɵ-chɵ'a-pʉga… sigyapʉ-aa-'u…
puwa-angry-IMM here-at-like RED-dig-REM sash-G-3s
medicine-mad!"[2] so right there he dug out… his sash…

puwa-sigyapʉ-aa-'u tawa-qha-pʉga, 'uwi-tapɵ'na-qha-pʉga 'u-ma-m
power-sash-G-3s put.on-ANT-REM hang-bundle-ANT-REM there-LOC-with
he put on his medicine sash and he hung his medicine bundle with

'urus: "toghoy núgway" 'áy-pʉga, yʉchi-pʉga tugwa-na̲-'uru:
that/s good TOP say-REM fly-REM night-LOC-that
it: "Very well" he said, and he flew out into the night:

"mámʉ̲-'uru 'ura-pʉga, mamʉy-ga 'iya-na̲… ['áavi-u]"
3p/s-that be-REM 3p/O-TOP here-LOC Pinyon.Jay-PL
"It's those ones, those ones over there… Pinyon Jays"

máy-kya-na-pʉay-aghay-amʉ̲; kani-gya-qha̲-amʉ̲-vwaa-agha
say-PL-HAB-REM-CL-3p house-have-PL-3p-at-have
that's what they called them… so he flew over

yʉchi-vɵrɵ-pʉga tugwa-na̲, 'ʉvʉ-puwa-y-av 'umʉ-vwaa-chukhwa̲
fly-go-REM night-LOC bad-power-O-OWN 3p/O-at-go
at night to where their dwellings were, and he cast his bad-medicine

cha̲-chaa'mi-pʉga-vachi̲ 'agha-ni-pʉga-vachi-sapa̲.
RED-spread-REM-BG WH-do-REM-BG-MOD
toward them whichever way he could.

pina-khwa̲-'ura 'umʉs pɵ́ɵsavi̲ tʉpʉy-kya-khwa̲-pʉga,
follow-go-be 3s/s epidemic perish-PL-go-REM
So later on they all perished in an epidemic,

naghami̲-kya-kwa-na-pʉga, pɵ́ɵsa-ta-paa-kucha-amʉ̲,
sick-PL-go-HAB-REM epidemic-PASS-DIR-start-3p
they all got sick, an epidemic began spreading among them,

máy-kya-pʉay-agha-amʉ̲; 'uwas-'ura máy-pʉga tugwa-vɵ́ɵsachi̲ 'u:
say-PL-REM-CL-3p 3s/s-be say-REM night-hawk/s the/s
they say; then Night-Hawk said:

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2. The concept of 'medicine-mad' (*puwa-na'ay-vʉ̲*) probably means 'mad enough to work bad-medicine ('~~ʉ~~*vʉ-puwa-vʉ̲*) on the offending party'.

"'ʉʉʉ! mʉni-'ara máy-kya-paa-pʉ̲-u pʉʉ-vʉra-chi-u, máa-pa
INTJ 2p/O-be say-PL-IRR-NOM-PL fur-arm-NOM-PL there-DIR
"'ʉʉʉ! You will be called 'Furry-Arms', you'll

yagha-kway-vʊrʊ-vaa-tʉ-mʉ̲ wa'apʉ-aagha-rukhwa̲,
cry-go-go-IRR-NOM-PL pinyon-have-go
wander about there crying among the pinyons,

súu-pa mani-vʊrʊ-ghwa" máy-pʉga.
one-DIR do.like-go-PAR say-REM
flocking together like this" he said.

togho-sapa̲-'ura 'umʉs-'uru 'u̲-'uni-vʊrʊ-kwa-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲,
right-MOD-be 3p/S-that RED-do-go-go-NOM-PL be-BG
That's why the Pinyon Jays flock around like this,

pʉʉ-vʉra-chi̲ máy-vʊrʊ-kwa-mi 'umʉsʉ-ga, 'ú-'u̲ra-amʉ̲ níaa-pʉay-agha,
fur-arm-NOM say-go-go-HB 3p/S-TOP RED-be-3p name-REM-CL
they go around saying 'Furry-Arms', that's why they are named like that[,]

togho-sapa̲[-'ura] pʉʉ-vʉra-chi̲ máy-kya-pʉay-agha-amʉ̲;
right-MOD-be fur-arm-NOM say-PL-REM-CL-3p
that's why they are called 'Furry-Arms';

'ú-vwa-tugwa-amʉ̲-'uru 'uni-kya-pʉay-agha 'umʉsʉ-ga, pa'ach'achi 'uway
there-at-go-3p-that do-PL-REM-CL 3p/S-TOP bat/O the/O
because they did it, because they killed Bat;

pa̲-paqha-u-khwa-paa-tukhwa̲; 'uwa-tʉ-s toghoy namu-'uni-pʉga,
RED-kill-INC-go-DIR-go 3s/S-NOM-C well first-do-REM
though he himself did (bad things) first,

piwa[-y]-u-amʉ̲ 'uni-na-pʉga-vachi-s, tugwa-nhka-amu̲-'uru;
spouse-O-PL-3p do-HAB-REM-BG-C night-dance/PL-3p-that
he used to mess with their wives, during their night-dancing;

máy-kya-miya núgway.
say-PL-HAB TOP
that's what they say'. [3]

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3. Nigh-Hawk pronounced a medicine curse on the Pinyon Jays, using bad-medicine (*'ʉvʉ-puwavʉ̲*) while being Medicine-Mad (*puwa-na'ay-vʉ̲*). He assigned them their curse-name ('Furry Arms'). This was done to avenge of the death of his nephew Bat.

TEXT 25

Bear runs away with Mountain-Lion's wife

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 10-17-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uwas kh-'ura-pʉga, kwiyaghatʉ... kwiyaghatʉ mamachi... kwiyaghatʉ
3s/s then-be-REM bear/s bear/G woman/s bear/G
There was once, Bear... she-bear...

ta'wachi 'ura-pʉga-vachi; 'uwas-'ura tuku piwa-y chʉka-khwa-pʉga...
man/s be-REM-BG 3s/s-be cougar/G wife-O lead.away-go-REM
it was he-bear; he lured away Mountain-Lion's wife...

'ini[-kya]-na-pʉga-vachi-'u... kh-'ura 'uwas 'u tuku-a-y piwa-y
do-ANT-HAB-REM-BG-3s then-be 3s/s the/s cougar-G-O wife-O
he had been doing (courting) her... so then he lured

chʉka-khwa-u-pʉga pina-khwa, kwiyaghatʉ ta'wachi 'u...
lead.away-go-INC-REM follow-go bear/G man/s the/s
Mountain-Lion's wife away, He-Bear (did)...

kh-'ura 'áy-pʉga...
then-be say-REM
then he said...

'uwas-'ura tuku-ra'wachi piwa-y-av 'uway 'úu-pa-s pʉsaghay-vachi...
3s/s-be cougar-man/s wife-O-OWN 3s/O there-DIR-C search-BG
Well Mountain-Lion searched for his wife that-a-way...

'uwa[y]-'ura 'áy-pʉga... kachu-'u maay-na-'wa-tʉ...
3s/O-be say-REM NEG-3s see-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM
he said... but he couldn't find her...

[kh-'ura 'umʉs-'ura] pʉ-pʉi-kwa-vachi-mʉ-'ura; "'ʉ́mʉ-'ura
then-be 3p/be RED-sleep-go-BG-PL-be 2s/s-be
[Well, when] Bear and Mountain-Lion's wife went to sleep, (she asked him):

'agha-ni-u-pachi tuku 'uway 'i-vaa-tukhwa mawisi-ku?"
WH-do-INC-BG cougar/G the/G here-at-go appear-SUB
"What will you do if Mountain-Lion showed up here?"

'áy-puga-'ura-'u... kwiyaghatu tuku mamachi 'u;
say-REM-be-3s bear/s cougar/G woman/O the/s
she asked him... Mountain-Lion's woman did;

"mani-khwa-ta-vachi-'uru" máy-puga-'ura 'uwas 'u kwiyaghatu, wa'apu
do.like-go-PASS-BG-that say-REM-be 3s/s the/s bear/s pinyon/O
"I'll do like this" said Bear, pulling a pinyon tree out, "I'll do

túpuna-puga, "mani-khwa-ta-vachi-'u..." wa'apu-kway túpuna-mi...
pull.out-REM do.like-go-PASS-BG pinyon-MOD pull-HAB
to him like this..." (he said); Bear always uproots pinyon trees...

pina-khwa-'ura-'uru máy-gya-s pu-pui-kwa-y 'úmu; pina-khwa-'ura
follow-go-be-that say-PAR-C RED-sleep-go-IMM 3p/s fol,low-go-be
So afterwards[,] having said that[,] they went to sleep; then later Bear

'uwas-'uru máy-vachi... tasuay-khu... wíichkutu paghay-ku... 'áy-vachi:
3s/s-that say-BKGR dawn-SUB morrow walk-SUB say-BG
said... when it was about to dawn... when morning was breaking... he said:

"'iya-tugwa-qa 'iya-'u... kwiyagha... 'íni-kway... tuku ta'wachi!..."
here-go-ANT here-3s bear WH/S-MOD cougar/G man/s
"Here he is coming... here he... Bear... what's-his-name... Mountain-Lion

'áy-vachi; 'uwas-'ura "'uni-nu-'ara!" 'áy-vachi-'uru tuku mamachi;
say-BG 3s/s-be do-IMP-be say-BG-that cougar/G woman/s
man!..." he said; So Mountain Lion's

'uwas 'iya-khwa-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh-'u... kurúki,
3s/s here-go-be there-at-it-3s get.up/IMM
wife said: "Go ahead, do it!" so Bear right there and then... he got up,

pacha-av kh-'ura ta-rawa-gha ku-kuma-khwa-tugway-khu,
shoe/O-OWN then-be RED-pull.on-PAR RED-other-go-go-it
and having pulled his shoes on the wrong way,

ta'anúki... 'u-vwaa-tukhwa-'ura 'uni-kwa-ta-vachi...
step/IMM there-at-go-be do-go-PASS-BG
he stepped... and right there he was done in (by Mountain-Lion)...

paqha-khwa-u-ta-vachi-'u, 'ɵa-y-'u chaqhopina-ta-vachi...
kill-go-INC-PASS-BG-3s back-O-3s break-PASS-BG
he was killed, his back was snapped...

[A section of the story is missing here: Mountain-Lion demanded to know if damage had been done to his wife's virtue, she having spent the night with Bear. She assured him that nothing had happened, since Bear was a creature of habit. To wit:]

"[ˈipʉ] ˈani-ˈay-mi-ˈura?" máy-vachi̲-ˈura ʻú tuku̲; "ˈuwas ˈu
WH/O do-say-HAB-be say-BG-be that/s cougar/s 3a/s the/s
"So what does he do?" Mountain-Lion asked her; "Oh, he just

navasʉ̲ ˈáy-mi... tama-na-s náagha-mi... ˈuni-ˈa-kwa-s"
just say-HAB spring-LOC-C mate-HAB do-??-go-s
talks... (laughter)... he only mates in the spring (laughter)... that's when he

ˈáy-pʉga-s-ˈu... ˈáy-pʉga-s, tuku mamachi̲-ˈu... máy-na-pʉgay-ˈu...
say-REM-C-3s say-REM-C cougar/G woman/s say-HAB-REM-3s
does it" she told him, Mountain-Lion woman did...she used to tell him...

ˈu-vwaa-tugwa-sapa-aqh pu̲chuchugwa-yi-s.
there-at-go-MOD-it know-IMM-C
well that's as far as I know.

PART IV

The ceremonial cycle

Introduction

Two major group-wide ceremonies anchor the current Ute ceremonial calendar, the Beardance in the early spring and the Sundance in mid-summer. The first, the Beardance (*mama-kwa-nhkap͟ʉ* 'women-step dance'), is much older, its roots reaching back to Ute antiquity. It marks, to begin with, the end of the harsh mountain winter when the bands went down to winter grounds in the relative safety of the river valleys and, often, split into smaller clan or extended-family groups. When the ice broke on the rivers and nature began its rites of spring, the bands could reassemble to celebrate successful survival through another winter, and the awakening of the flora and fauna on which the hunter-gatherer depends. Tying this ceremony to the bear is symbolic yet transparent: Like The People, like nature itself, the bear (*kwiya-gha-t͟ʉ*) hunkers down to hibernate in winter, then re-emerges hungry but reinvigorated in the spring.

There was, however, much more to the Beardance. It was the time when the isolated bands visited and hosted each other, reaffirming their common bond as The People (*núuchi-u*). It was also the time for courting and extending family ties outside the proscribed bounds of the close-kin group; in the parlance of evolutionary anthropology, the Beardance provided for *exogamy*. The actual structure of the dance itself makes this plain enough; the four-night encampment on the river makes the courting more than possible.

The traditional Beardance, before the advent of the Sundance in the late 1800s, was also the main communal spiritual ceremony of the Utes, where The People came together to reaffirm their common spiritual bond, among themselves and with the Creator. The traditional oral account (26), detailed as it is, does not dwell much on the spiritual contents of the Beardance. This silence may be part and parcel of a deliberate reticence to expose the contents of spiritual ceremonies. Spiritual knowledge is sensitive, dangerous, and should not be bandied about lightly. Spirituality, even when celebrated publicly, is up to the individual. What is more, this reticence may also reflect

an older Shamanistic, Yogic tradition that harkens back to the Asian roots of Amerindia: Manipulate the body to reach the soul; get to the invisible by tapping the visibles.[1]

Following Mollie Cloud's account of the origin of the Beardance (26), we have Ralph Cloud's reminiscences of how the Beardance used to be celebrated in his youth (27). It is a nostalgic look-back at how things used to be, as well as a stoic lament for a world that is almost gone.

The other major Ute communal ceremony, the Sundance (*tagu-wʉ̶ni*), is of more recent vintage. Mollie Cloud's account (28) places the advent of the Sundance during the epidemic and famine of ca. 1890, and attributes the origin of the ceremony to Jesus Christ, who is said to have revealed it to a Ute youth in the area of Mancos Creek. Joe Jorgensen's (1972) scholarly account outlines a protracted chain of transmission, from the Lakota in the Northern Plains, via the Crow and Shoshone in Wyoming (Ft. Hall, Wind River), to the Uintah-Ouray Ute reservation in N.E. Utah ca. 1890, and from there to Ute Mountain and So. Ute. The latter link implicates a known individual, Edwin Cloud (*yúa-vʉ̶tʉ̶-vʉ̲*, Mollie Cloud's father-in-law), the first Sundance Chief of So. Ute, and a known date for the first Sundance on the Pine River –1904.[2]

The traditional account (28) is deliberately devoid of interpretation of the spiritual contents of the Sundance, displaying the same reticence noted above. Jorgensen's (1972) account is more extensive, based as it is on consultation with many Ute sources, both Sundancers and Sundance chiefs. However, his general interpretation bears a Marxist slant, viewing the Ute and Shoshone Sundance as a reaction to colonial oppression, thus an attempt to substitute spiritual power for the lost mundane power.

A more likely interpretation of the Ute Sundance is that part of the communal form, the dancing toward the center-pole crowned with the buffalo head, was indeed imported from the north. But the traditional corral, with its opening to the east, the placement of the male dancers on the west side, the male singers to their south and the female dancers to their north, already existed in the Beardance. What is more, individual vision-questing – a several-days food-and-water fast in the mountains and the preceding sweat-lodge purification

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1. Some of the best expressions of these attitude in Asian antiquity may be found in the early Taoist tradition of China; as in: "The Tao that can be told of in words is not the real Tao" (*Tao Teh Ching*, 1); or" "Thus while the tangibles have their use, it is the intangible that is sought" (*Tao Teh Ching*, 11).

2. Jorgensen compared the Sundance across the three Ute reservations and two Wyoming Shoshone reservations.

rite with the Medicine Man (*puwa-gha-t̲ʉ̲*) – was an old Ute, indeed Numic, tradition. What the advent of the Sundance may have brought to the Utes is the consolidation of the individual vision-quest fast and preceding preparation into a public social ceremony, appropriating the Beardance corral and thus leaving the Beardance as, primarily, a communal celebration of the spring – and courtship.

Ute medicine songs prior to the advent of the Sundance were probably sung individually rather than communally, with a small hand-held drum. Such individual singing is still attested in the Ute peyote tradition (Stewart 1948), also dating back to the 1890s in Southern Ute. Tapes of Sundance songs from the 1950s sung in this old style are still available.

Chart 1. Layout of Ute beardance corral (approx. 150 ft. diameter)

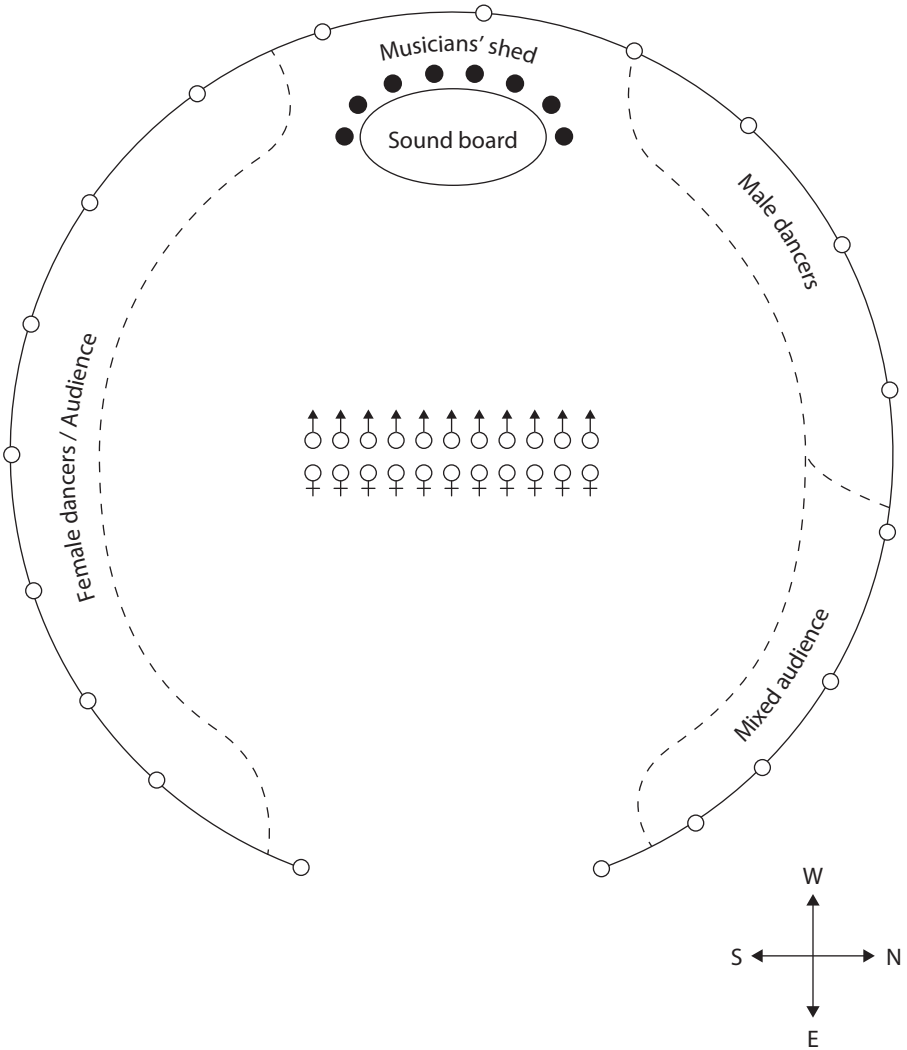
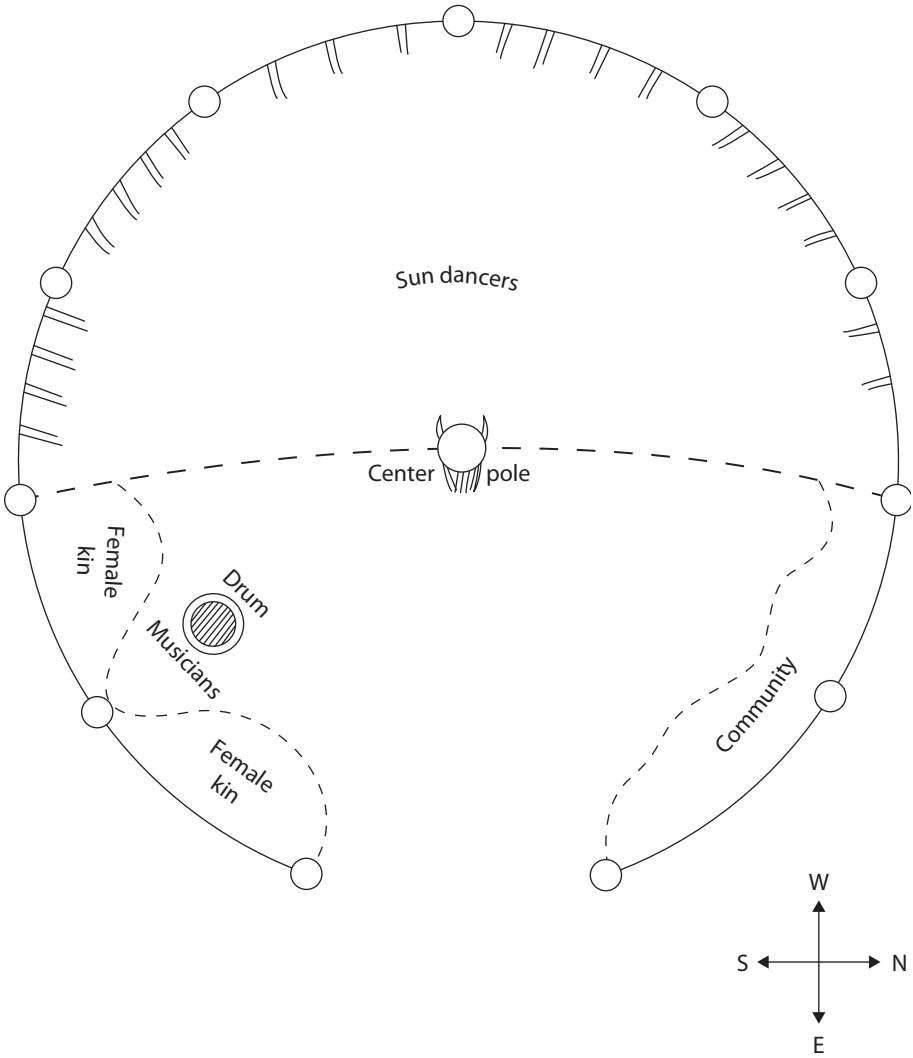


Chart 2. Layout of Ute sundance lodge (approx. 80 ft. diameter)



TEXT 26

The origin of the Beardance

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 12-16-76
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'ichay 'iya-nʉ-s máy-vaa-sʉ-ni, mama-kwa-nhka-pi̲,
this/O here-1S-S say-IRR-C-FUT woman-go-dance/PL-NOM/S
I'm going to tell this now, the Bear-Dance ('Women-Step Dance'),

púupa 'ura-pʉ-vaa-tʉ; 'umʉs 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲, wíitʉs
way be-NOM-NOM/O 3S/S be-REM-BG past
the way it was supposed to be done; they were then, long ago

wíi-nuchi-u-gwapʉ̲… namu-núuchi-u-gwapu̲, 'ichay tʉvʉpʉ-vwaa-na̲
old-Ute-PL-DEFUN first-Ute-PL-DEFUN this/O earth/O-at-LOC
the long-gone Old People… the long-gone First People, they were

miya-'ni-pʉga-tʉ-mʉ̲… ka-mama-khwa-nhka-na-pʉa-tʉ-mʉ̲.
go/PL-INT-REM-NOM-PL NEG-woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REM/NEG-NOM-PL
roaming this earth… they didn't use to Bear-Dance then.

kh-'ura 'umʉs wá-ini 'ura-pʉga, 'áyh-pʉchi-u, navavi-chi-mʉ,
then-be 3P/S two-S be-REM young.man-DIM-PL REC/brother-NOM-PL
Then there were two of them, young men, brothers,

pagha-'ni-gya-amu̲-'uru, 'agha-vaa-tʉ kú-núu-'wa-tʉ-paa-tʉ, ka…
go-INT-PAR-3P-that WH-at-DIR NEG-person-NEG-NOM-DIR-DIR NEG
they were wandering about, through whatever uninhabited country, no…

navasʉ-mʉ̲ pagha-'ni-gya, tʉna-vʊrʊ-ghwa-amʉ̲, 'ipʉ-sapa-amʉ̲
just-PL go-INT-PAR hunt-go-PAR-3P WH/O-MOD-3P
they were just wandering, hunting about, doing whatever

'uni-vʊrʊ-ghwa, 'uni-pʉga-vachi-mʉ̲.
do-go-PAR do-REM-BG-PL
wandering about, just hanging out.

togho-paya-mi̲-'uru karʉ-pʉga, wʉgaa-ma̲…
right-side-LOC-that sit-REM hill-LOC
They were sitting on a high cliff, on a hill…

pʉni-kyarʉ-ku̲-amʉ̲-'uru ma-vaa yúaa-va…
look-sit-SUB-3p-that there-at plain-at
and as they were sitting and looking there over the open country…

nuuchi… 'ini-s-kway… núu-aagha-tʉ̲ 'uni-'ni-pʉga;
person/O WH/O-C-MOD person-have-NOM do-INT-REM
at a person…whomever… a person was there;

'únigunı̲-'ura kwiyaghatʉ̲ 'ura-pʉgay-'u
sudden-be bear be-REM-3s
and lo, it was a bear.

kh-'ura 'áy-pʉga, 'úmʉ̲ wáa-'áyh-pʉchi-u: "'úuu… 'uvwiya-ramı̲
then-be say-REM 3p/s two-young.man-DIM-PL INTJ HORT-2d
So they said, those two young men: "'úuu… let's go approach

máa-y-vaa-chukhwa̲ kwáy-vaa…" máy-pʉga-'ura; "nʉ́' máa-y-vaa-chukhwa̲
that-O-at-go go-IRR say-REM-be 1s/s that-O-at-go
that one…" they said; "I should

kwáy-vaa" máy-pʉga-'ura [sú-iini]; "'íni̲ 'ara-'ay?
go-IRR say-REM-be one-s WH/s be-IMM
approach him" said one of them; "But what kind (of a creature) is it?

pʉni-kyarʉ-vaa-nʉ-s" máy-pʉga 'ú chaqhaci-'u, "kachʉ[-mʉ̲]
look-sit-IRR-IMP-C say-REM that/s yngr.bro-3s NEG-2s
Let's sit and watch (him)" said his younger brother, "you

'uni-'wa-pʉ̲!" 'áy-púga, "paqha-khwa̲-ta-vaa-mʉ̲-ni!" 'áy-pʉga; "kách"
do-NEG-NOM say-REM kill-go-PASS-IRR-2s-FUT say-REM NEG
"shouldn't (go down there)!" he said, "you'll get killed!" he said; "No"

'ay-pʉga ['ú pavichi-'u], pʉ́ka-rʉga-pʉga.
say-REM that/s oldr.bro-3s hard-persist-REM
said his older brother, he persisted.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura táa-y-av tʉkwi-ca̲'a-pʉga, kách-'ura-'uru
there-at-it-TOP-be shirt-O-own remove-grab-REM NEG-be-that
So then the older brother took off his clothes, he (went down there)

táa-'a-y 'uni-'a̲-pʉga; 'ú-'ura chaqhachi-'u pʉni-kyarʉ-pʉga
shirt-have/NEG-IMM do-??-REM that/s-be yngr.bro-3s look-sit-REM
with no clothes on; and his younger brother sat there watching

'uru wʉga-mą̲.
that/O hill-LOC
on top of the hill.

'únigun̲i̲-'ura-'uru chaghachi-vaa-'uru tʉgay-kų̲ 'uway… 'uwas
sudden-be-that near-at-that approach-SUB 3s/G 3s/s
Well now when the older brother got near there… he had

ka-táa-'a-tʉ̲… 'uwas-'uru tugu-tukhwą̲ wʉ-wʉnʉ-[khwa]-pʉga;
NEG-shirt-have/NEG-NOM 3s/s-be up-go RED-stand-go-REM
no clothes on… then the Bear stood up;

'úniguni mamachi̲ 'ura-pʉgay-'u, mamachi̲… 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-pʉga,
sudden woman/s be-REM-3s woman/s 3s/O-at-go-REM
and lo, it was a female, a female… so he went to her,

nava-chugwa-pʉga, mʊ'ʊ-cha̲'a-pʉga, na'ayna-vʊrʊ-pʉga; 'uwas-'ura
REC-go-REM hand-grab-REM hug-go-REM 3s/s-be
they approached each other, and they shook hands and went around hugging;

kwiyaghatʉ mamachi̲ 'ásti-pʉgay-'u.
bear/G woman/s want-REM-3s
and the She-Bear liked him.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru kani-vaa-tugwa-'uru… 'u-vwaa-av
there-at-it-be-that house/O-at-go-that there-at-OWN
Well then they went on to her home, there

pʉ̲-pʉi-paa-tukhwą̲; chʉka-khwą̲-kwa-pʉga, 'ú kwiyaghatʉ
RED-sleep-DIR-go lead-go-ANT-REM that/s bear/G
where she slept; she led him there, that

mamchi̲ 'u, 'uway 'áyh-pʉchi.
woman/s the/s 3s/O young.man/O
She-Bear, (led) that young man.

'uwas-'ura chaqhachi-'u nanʊs piya-'wą̲-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru-'u
3s/s-be yngr.bro-3s alone remain-??-REM there-at-it-be-that
And now his younger brother remained all alone; earlier on his older

'áy[-kya]-pʉga, kwáy-'uru: "'uru-'ura nʉ́nay… kʉma-wa-n págha̲-kway-kų̲,
say-ANT-REM MOD-that that-be 1s/G other-with-1s go-go-SUB
brother had told him, like that: "Now if I… take off with another person,

'ʉ́mʉ̲ payu-kwa-nʉ-sapą̲, 'icha-y-'ura yáa'wą̲-nʉ" 'áy-pʉga kh-'ura,
2s/s return-go-IMP-MOD this-O-be carry-IMP say-REM then-be
you should go back home, and carry these (my clothes with you)" he said then,

kachi-s-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chugwa-'wa-y; "kh-'ura '-mʉ
NEG-C-that 3s/O-at-go-NEG-IMM then-be 2s/s
before he had gone down to the She-Bear; "Then you

pʉ́a-u-av máy-nʉ: "'iya-na-khu-s táa-'u, 'uwas-kʉ kwiyaghatʉ
kin-PL-OWN say-IMP here-LOC-it-C shirt-3s 3s/s-EM bear/O
tell your kin: "Here are his clothes, he married the

piwa-ri-'u" máy-nʉ-'ura… máy-nʉ-amʉ-'ura 'uru pichʉ-kway-khu"
spouse-do-3s say-IMP-be say-IMP-3p-be that/O arrive-go-SUB
She-Bear" you say… you tell them that the minute you arrive there"

'áy-pʉgay-kʉ-'ura-'uru; "'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru manʉ-khʉ-chaa-ni
say-REM-it-be-that there-at-it-be-that five-O-INC-like
that's what he told him; "then after five nights

tugwa-ri-yukhwi, 'ʉ́mʉ pichʉ-nʉ-aa-s" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas; 'uru
night-make-sit 2s/s return-IMP-??-C say-REM-be 3s/s that/O
have passed, you come back here" he had told him; he had

kachi-s-'uru 'uwa-vaa-chugwa[-'way-kʉ] 'uway kwiyaghatʉ mamachi.
NEG-C-that 3s/O-at-go-NEG-SUB 3s/O bear/G woman/O
told him all this before he went down to the She-Bear.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura pághʉ-kwa-pʉga máy-gya-s-'u; kh-'ura-'uru
there-at-it-be go-go-REM say-PAR-C-3s then-be-that
And then he took off having said that; and

'ú-'ʉni-pʉga-'ura-'uru, púupa chugwa-khwa[-na]-'u kwiyaghatʉ mamachi,
RED-do-REM-be-that way go-go-REL-3s bear/G woman/G
they did it, the way the She-Bear came to him,

'íina-vɵrɵ-pʉgay-'u, kh-'ura 'uni-gya-sʉ-mʉ-'uru,
hug-go-REM-3s then-be do-PAR-C-PL-that
walking and hugging him, and doing that,

pághʉ-kwa-pʉga, kani-vaa-tʉ-a-'u… 'agha-rʉ-tʉ-sapʉ
go-go-REM house/O-at-DIR-G-3s WH-NOM-DIR-MOD
they took off, to her house… to wherever

kani-gya-tʉ 'ura-vachi… páaqhachi-'ura kani-gya-tʉ 'ura-pʉga.
ahou-have-NOM be-BG hole/s-be house-have-NOM be-REM
it was she had her house… it was in a cave that she had her home.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura 'uwas-'uru púupa máy-na-'u-'uru,
there-at-it-TOP-be 3s/s-be way say-REL-3s-that
Well now the younger brother (did) the way (his older brother) told him,

manʉ-khu̲-chaa-ni tugwa-ri-yukhwi̲-kyay-ku̲-'uru… 'ava'na̲-agha-y-'uru…
five-O-INC-like night-do-sit-ANT-SUB-that many-have-IMM-that
after five nights had passed… there were many there…

'awa-yʉga-y-ni… 'u-vwaa-tʉ paghay-pʉga, kani-vaa-tʉ-'uru;
long-enter-IMM-like there-at-DIR walk-REM house-at-DIR-that
he was coming back from far away… he walked there, to the cave;

'úniguni-kway tʉpʉychi-karʉ 'u-rʉkwa̲ kani-gya-tʉ̲
sudden-MOD rock/O-sit there-under house-have-NOM/S
and lo, she had her house there

'ura-pʉga, páaqhachi̲.
be-REM hole/s
under a sitting rock, a cave.

'uwas-'ura chaqhachi̲ 'u 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ 'apagha̲-pʉga, 'uway,
3s/s-be yngr.bro/s the/s 3s/O-at-go talk-REM 3s/O
So the younger brother spoke to his older brother, to him,

ni-nia-pʉgay-'u; 'uwas-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-tʉ mawisi̲-pʉga,
RED-call-REM3s 3s/s-be-that there-at-DIR appear-REM
he called out his name; then the older brother appeared there,

'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ mawisi̲-pʉga; 'uwas 'u 'ú-gwa-'ura-'uru
3s/s-at-go appear-REM 3s/s the/s there-EM-be-that
he appeared before him; then right there

'umʉ-vaa-chukhwa̲ 'apagha̲-pʉga: "mʉni-gʉ-s ka-nhka-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲
3p/O-at-go speak-REM 2p-EM-C NEG-dance/PL-NOM-PL
he spoke to them (the group): "You are not Beardancers now,

'ura-'ay, máy-kya-kʉ máa" máy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas 'uway
be-IMM say-ANT-EM that/s say-REM-be 3s/s 3s/O
this one (the She-Bear) says" he said (about) the

kwiyaghatʉ, "'uru-y-aa-s-'uru mʉ́ni̲ tama-na̲-'uru pa'a-toghwa[-tʉ]
bear/O that-O-G-C-that 2p/s spring-LOC very-long-NOM/O
She-Bear, "so for this reason next spring in the month of

mʉa-toghochi-mi̲-'uru, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura mʉ́ni̲
moon-LOC-that there-at-it-be 2p/s
the long moon, right then you

nhka-vaa-ni; súu-pa mani[-kya]-vaa-chi̲, kwi'a-qha-paa-ni"
dance/PL-IRR-FUT one-DIR do.like-PL-IRR-NOM fence-PL-IRR-FUT
will dance; you'll do it like this together, you'll make a corral"

'áy-pʉga-kway-'uru; "wa'apʉ-m kwi'a-qha-paa-ni;
say-REM-MOD-that cedar/O-with fence-PL-IRR-FUT
he told them; "you'll make it a corral of cedars;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'ivichi 'uru 'uni-kya-qa-paa-sʉ-ni,
there-at-it-be-that stick/O the/O do-PL-PASS-IRR-C-FUT
and you will make it with posts,

wʉnʉ-kwa-qha-tʉ" máy-pʉga-s kh-'ura; "'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'ú-náaghą
stand-go-PASS-NOM say-REM-C then-be there-at-it-be there-in
upright ones" he said; "and then you'll

yugwi-vaa-ni" máy-pʉga-s-'ura, "nʉ́-'ura-s mʉni káa-kʉ-vaa-ni
sit/PL-IRR-FUT say-REM-C-be I/S-be 2p/O sing-BEN-IRR-FUT
sit in there" he told them, "and then I'll come and sing to you

'uru 'ugwiavi" 'áy-pʉga-s kh-'ura.
thato song/O say-REM-C then-be
those (Beardance) songs" he said.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-s, kh-'ura, káa-pʉgay-kʉ-'ura; "máy-kya:
there-at-it-be-C then-be sing-REM-it-be say-ANT
And then, right there, he sang to them (the Beardance songs);

"káa-qha-paa-ni kh-'ura, 'uru kwiyaghatʉ 'ugwiavi""
sing-PL-IRR-FUT then-be that/O bear/G song/O
"She said: "You should sing those Bear Songs""

máy-pʉga-s-'u kh-'ura, "'áy-kya-kʉ" máy-pʉga-s-'ura, "'úrʉ-'ʉ"
say-REM-C-3s kh-'ura say-ANT-EM say-REM-C-be that/S-EM
he said, "that's what she said", "he told them, "exactly that"

máy-pʉga-s-'u; káa-pʉga-s-ukh-'ura, káa-kʉ-pʉgay-ku-amʉ
say-REM-C-3s sing-REM-C-it-be sing-BEN-REM-it-3p
he said; then he sang it to them again, he sang it (the songs)

'umʉ pʉ́a-u-av; 'umʉs-'ura-'uru pʉ-puchugwa-pʉgay-vachi-ukh 'uru,
3p/O kin-PL-OWN 3p/S-be-that RED-know-REM-BG-it that/O
to his kinsmen; and they learned them,

púupa-aqh 'ura-ną-'uru 'ugwiavi [káa-qha-ta-ną-ukh].
way-it be-REL-that song/O sing-PL-PASS-REL-it
the way those songs should be sung.

"'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru kwi'a-qha-qhay-kʉ, yugwi-vaa-ni, sú-ii[ni]-sapą
there-at-it-be-that fence-PL-ANT-SUB sit/PL-IRR-FUT one-S-MOD
"So after you have made the corral, you will sit there, one of you

káa-vaa-chi̲-ukh 'uru, sumay-gyay-ku̲" 'áy-pʉga kh-'ura,
sing-IRR-NOM-it that/O remember-ANT-SUB say-REM then-be
should sing it, if he remembers" he said,

"nʉ́mʉ̲-'uru, 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru, 'uni-kya-paa-khu̲-amʉ̲-'uru, pichʉ…
1p/s-that there-at-it-that do-PL-IRR-SUB-2p-that arrive
"then the two of us (myself and the She-Bear), while you are (sitting)
there, (will) arrive…

'ú-naaghạ̲-amʉ-'uru yugwi-ku̲, nʉ́mʉ̲ pichʉ-'wa-vaa-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ara-'ay;
there-in-3p-that sit/PL-SUB 1p/s arrive-??-IRR-NOM-PL be-IMM
while you are sitting in (the corral), we will be coming in;

kh-'ura púupa-amʉ̲-'uru wi'i-kya-paa-na̲-'uru 'uni-vaa-tʉ-mʉ-s 'ara-'ay"
then-be way-2p-be dance-PL-IRR-REL-that do-IRR-NOM-PL-C be-IMM
then we will demonstrate the way you should all dance"

máy-pʉga-s kh-'ura; "'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru tʉga-ta-paa-tʉ-aqh-amʉ̲
say-REM-C then-be there-at-it-be-that become-PASS-IRR-NOM-it-2p
he said then; "so that it will become (clear)

'ura-'ay" máy-pʉga-kway, "púupa-amʉ̲-'uru 'uni-kya-na̲-aqh-'ura-'uru
be-IMM say-REM-MOD way-2p-that do-PL-REM-it-be-that
to you" he said, "the way you do it in

tama-na̲-'uru, tama-ri̲-ku̲" máy-pʉga-s kh-'ura.
spring-LOC-that spring-do-SUB say-REM-C then-be
the spring, when it turns spring" he said.

"na'a-'u!" máy-kya-pʉga kh-'ura 'umʉs, "'uni-kya-paa-tʉ-mʉ̲-ukh-'ura";
pretty-3s say-PL-REM then-be 3p/s do-PL-IRR-NPOM-PL-it-be
"He's right!" they all said, "we will do it (that way)";

"nʉ́mʉ-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh káa-kʉ-vaa-chi̲-amʉ̲-'uru" máy-pʉga kh-'ura,
1p-be there-at-it sing-BEN-IRR-NOM-2p-that say-REM then-be
"Then we two will sing it for you" (the older brother) said,

"púupa-amʉ-'uru wi'i-kya-paa-na-y"
way-2p-that dance-PL-IRR-REL-O
"(showing you) the way you should dance"

máy-pʉga; kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'ʉvʉs 'ura-pʉga 'uwas.
say-REM then-be 3s/s-that end be-REM 3s/s
he told them; then he was gone.

tama-rʉga-pʉga-vachi̲-'u kwiyaghatʉ 'uwa-wa kani-vee-'u
spring-arrive-REM-BKGR-3s bear/O 3s/O-with house-at-3s
Well the older brother stayed with the She-Bear at her cave till

['uni-'ni-vachi]; kh-'ura-'uru máy-kya-pʉga: "'uvwiyaa-rawi-kway
do-INT-BKHR then-be-that say-PL-REM EX-1p/IN-MOD
spring arrived; then they (his kinfolk) said: "Let's make

kwi'a-qha-paa[-chi-mʉ], ka-tʉvʉchi 'avatʉ-sapa-pʉ 'ura-vaa-'wa-chi,
fence-PL-IRR-NOM-PL NEG-very big-MOD-NOM be-IRR-NEG-NOM
a corral, let it not be too big,

kwi'a-pʉ" máy-kya-pʉga kh-'ura… máy-kya-pʉay-aghay-amʉ kh-'ura-'uru.
fence-NOM say-PL-REM then-be say-PL-REM-CL-3p then-be-that
the corral" they said… that's what they said then.

'úru-'uru kwiy'a-qha-pʉga, wa'apʉ[-m]… pʉ́-paa-y-av-'uru
that/S-that fence-PL-REM cedar/O-with REL-DIR-O-OWN-that
So they made the corral, with cedars… the way

[máy-kya-na-'u], 'úru-'ura-'uru 'ura-vachi, 'ʊra-qha-tʉ 'uru tʉvʉpʉ
say-ANT-REL-3s that/s-be-that be-BG dig-PASS-NOM/O the/O earth/O
he had told them, that's the way it was, and they dug

['ʊra-qha-pʉga]; pʉ́-paa-y-aqh-'uru…
dig-PL-REM REL-DIR-O-it-that
a trench in the earth (for the drum); the way…

"na'ay-kya-tʉ-aqh 'uru 'u-vwaa-na, wachʉ-ka-vaa-ni-'uru,
fire-ANT-NOM-it the/O there-at-LOC put-PASS-IRR-FUT-that
"Let the fire be right there, put it there,

tʉvʉpʉ 'ʊra-qha-tʉ qoy'okhwa-ti-kya-tʉ" máy-pʉga-s-'ura,
earth/O dig-PASS-NOM/O hollow-CAUS-PASS-NOM say-REM-C-be
and dig out a pit" the older brother had said,

"pachavi-'uru 'ura-vachi… kwa-na-y-kwa… mani-aa…"
rawhide/s-that be-BG go-LOC-O-go do.like-??
"and cover it with rawhide from end to end… like this…"

'áy[-kya]-pʉga-s kh-'ura-'uru.
say-ANT-REM-C then-be-that
he had told them.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru kwi'a-qha-pʉga 'umʉs, máy-ta-pʉa[na]-av
there-at-it-be-that fence-PL-REM 3p/S say-PASS-REM-REL-OWN
So they made the corral, the very way they had been told,

'úu-pa-'uru, kwi'a-qha-pʉgay-ku, tama-na-'uru;
there-DIR-that fence-PL-REM-it spring-LOC-that
that way, they made the corral, in the spring;

'ú-vway-aqh-amʉ-'ura-'uru 'ú-náaghạ 'umʉs 'uni-'ạ-qha-pʉga,
there-at-it-3p-be-that there-in 3p/s do-??-PL-REM
and they all got in there, the whole lot

núu-aa-u-aqh; kh-'ura-'uru káa-vaa-tʉ-ukh-'u, wʉnʉ-rʉgay-paa-tʉ-'u…
person-G-PL-it then-be-that sing-IRR-NOM/S-it-3s notch-rub-IRR-NOM-3s
of them; then the one who would be the singer, the one who'd rub

'uwas-'ura wʉnʉ-rʉgay-'napʉ 'uru máy-pʉga-vachị…
3s/S-be notch-rub-INSTR/O the/O say-REM-BG
the notched stick, she called it notch-rub-stick…

máy-pʉga-vachị-'u kwiysaghatʉ 'u…
say-REM-BG-3s bear/s the/s
that's what the She-Bear called it…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru 'u-vwaa-tugwa-amʉ mawisị-pʉga,
there-at-it-be 3p/s-that there-at-go-3p appear-REM
Then at long last the two of them (the older brother and She-Bear) appeared

'uni-kya-qhay-kʉ-amʉ-'uru; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'ú kwiyaghatʉ
do-PL-ANT-SUB-3p-that there-at-it-be that/s bear/s
there after the people had done all that; then that She-Bear

'u púupa-'uru wi'i-pagha-paa-nạ-'uru 'uni-pʉga kh-'ura 'uwas,
the/s way-that dance-go-IRR-REL-that do-REM then-be 3s/s
demonstrated the way one should dance,

wi'i-pagha-pʉga-amʉ; 'uwas sú-iini káa-pʉga.
dance-go-REM-3p 3s/s other-s sing-REM
the two of them danced around; and the other brother sang.

kh-'ura 'uni-maku-chi-mʉ-'uru, 'umʉ-a-tugwa supay-pʉga
then-be do-finish-NOM-PL-that 3p-O-go leave-REM
At last having finished doing it, the older brother and the

'uru, púupa-'uru 'uni-kya-nạ-av, 'umʉ pʉ́a-u-av;
that/O way-that do-PL-REL-OWN 3p/O kin-PL-OWN
She-Bear left it to the people, the way they should do it, to their kin;

kh-'ura 'úu-pa-sʉ-mʉ pághạ-kwa-pʉga.
then-be there-DIR-C-PL go-go-REM
then they took off that-a-way.

'u-vwaa-tugwa-sapạ-aqh nʉ́' pʉchuchugwa-miya-s 'uru; 'umʉs
there-at-go-MOD-it 1s/s know-HAB-C that/O 3p/s
This is as far as I know it; whatever

'agha-ni-pʉga-vachi-sapa-amʉ; máy-kya-nʉ-s-'ura-sapa, púupa-aqh
WH-do-REM-BG-MOD-3p say-ANT-1s-C-be-MOD way-it
they did; I have spoken, the way

'ichay mama-kwa-nhka-pi 'uni-kya-na-y; máy-kya-nʉ-s-'ura-sapa.
this/O woman-go-dance/PL-NOM/O do-PL-REL-O say-ANT-1s-C-be-MOD
they used to do this Beardance; I have spoken.

TEXT 27

How the Beardance used to be

told by: Ralph N. Cloud
date recorded: 5-8-81
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'uru wíitʉs-'uru… wíitʉs-'uru mama-kwa-nhka-mi; nʉ́nay
that/O past-that past-that woman-go-dance/PL-HAB 1s/G
Long ago… We have been dancing the Beardance for a long time; when I

'aapachi-khu̲, 'u-vwaa-tʉ-mana-kway, narʉvʉ 'ú-vwa 'uni-kya-tʉ̲
boy-SUB there-at-DIR-leave-go custom/O there-at do-PASS-NOM
was a boy, it is since that time, it's been done as custom

'ara-'ay; 'umʉ mama-kwa-nhka-rʉ-mʉ̲ ká-'iya-na-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲,
be-IMM 3p/O woman-go-dance/PL-ADJ-PL/S NEG-here-LOC-NEG-NOM-PL
here; those Beardance dancers are not here any more, those departed

náana̲-pʉchi-u-gwapʉ… 'umʉ-wa 'áapachi-gya-rʉ wi'i-mi,
old.men-DIM-PL-DEFUN/O 3p/O-with boy-be-ADJ/O dance-HAB
little old men… I used to dance with them when I was a boy,

mama-khwa-wi'i-mi.
woman-go-dance-HAB
I used to Beardance (with them).

pina-khwa̲-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru ta'waci̲ tʉga-'wi-chi̲-'uru káa-y,
follow-go-be there-at-it-that man become-??-SUB-that sing-IMM
Then later on when I became a man I would sing,

káa-y-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh, mama-kwa 'ugwiyavi 'uru, súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni
sing-IMM-that there-at-it woman-go song/O the/O other-NOM-PL-like
I would sing then, the Beardance songs, I'd sing with those other

'áayh-pʉchi-u ka-'iya-na-wa-tʉ-mʉ 'umʉ-wa káa-qha-mi;
young.men-DIM-PL NEG-here-LOC-NEG-NOM-PL/O 3p/O-with sing-PL-HAB
young men who are not here any more;

'umʉ-wa karʉ-ga wʉnʉ-rʉgwa-y; ká-káa-tʉvʉy-'wa-y-sapa̲,
3p/O-with sit-PAR notch-rub-IMM NEG-sing-very-NEG-IMM-MOD
sitting with them rubbing the notched sticks; I didn't sing very well then,

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura pu̲chuchugwa-'wa-y, 'umʉ-wa
there-at-it-be know-??-IMM 3p/O-with
but then I learned, singing together

káa-qha-na-pʉga-tʉ-mʉ-wa, wíitʉs, 'umʉ-wa.
sing-PL-HAB-REM-NOM-PL-with past 3p/O-with
with them, long ago, with them.

'umʉs-'ura káa-qhay-khu̲-'uru, 'ugwiavi 'uru-rʉ̲-ka-mi,
3p/S-be sing-PL-SUB-that song/O that/O-make-PL-HAB
Those (guys) when they sang, they'll make up the song, make up

nía-ti-kya-tʉ, sú-ku-aa-ni púupa 'ani-kya-na-y,
name-CAUS-PASS-NOM/O other-O-like way do-PL-REL-O
(the) words, different words the way they would do (it),

'agha-vaa-tugwa-sapa̲-'u pʉnikya-vachi̲-'u; káa-mi-tʉ̲ 'u,
WH-at-go-MOD-3p see-BG-3s sing-HAB-NOM/S the/S
(about) whatever they would see (in the dance); the singer,

pʉnikya-ku̲, 'ipʉ-a-sapa̲ 'ú-'u̲ni-vachi̲, 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru
see-SUB WH-O-MOD RED-do-BG there-at-it-that
when he saw (something), whatever it was he would do it, right there

'ugwiavi tʉga-'wa-mi, 'ú-vway-aqh-'u; mámʉ̲ náana̲-pʉchi-u-'uru
song/O become-??-HAB there-at-it-3s those/S old.men-DIM-PL-that
it would become a song, right there he (would make it a song); those little old men

'úu-pa-ni-amʉ̲-'uru káa-qha-ku̲-amʉ̲-'uru, 'ugwiavi 'uru 'uni-kya-mi.
there-DIR-likr-3p-that sing-PL-SUB-3p-that song/O the/O do-PL-HAB
as they sang just like that, would make up the song (on the spot).

'úniguni̲-'ura 'úu-pa-ni̲-aqh 'uni-kya-ku̲, 'ini-a-sapa-kway mamachi
sudden-be there-DIR-line-it do-PL-SUB WH-O-MOD-MOD woman/O
And lo, when they would do it like that, whichever woman they would

káa-vachi̲, nía-'u ni-nia-pachi̲… 'ʉvʉs, wíitʉs-'uru kach…
sing-BG name-3s RED-name-BG end past-that NEG
sing about, they would call her name… and well, in the old days she wouldn't…

kach na'ay'a-mi-wa, 'uru máy-ta-'uru, 'ugwiavi 'uru máy-ta
NEG angry-HAB-NEG that/O say-PASS-that song/O the/O say-PASS
she wouldn't get mad, at what was said, s/he wouldn't get mad at what the

ka-na'ay'a-mi-'wa, 'ini-a-sapa̲-'u, mamachi, ta'wachi, káa-ta 'uru;
NEG-angry-HAB-NEG WH-O-MOD-3s woman/O man/O sing-PASS
song said, at whatever, a woman, a man, the singing;

ka-tí'i-kya-mi-'wa-s.
NEG-jealous-PL-HAB-NEG-C
they would not get jealous.

'úru̲-nugwa̲ 'ura-'ay, púupa-aqh 'ura-na̲, ka-tí'i-kya-'way-sapa̲-'uru,
that/S-TOP be-IMM way-it be-REL NEG-jealous-PL-NEG-MOD-that
That's how it was, the way it was, they wouldn't get jealous,

piwa-'u 'aga-ni-wa-sapa̲ wi'i-pagha-pachi̲; ta'wachi̲ kac-'ura
spouse-3s WH-do-with-MOD dance-go-BG man NEG-be
at their spouse whoever she was dancing with; men are not

chichigya[-wa]-rʉ-mʉ̲-'uru, púupa 'uni-kya-na-pʉ̲-'ura; chichigya-rʉ̲-'uru
tough-NEG-ADJ-AN-that way do-PL-REL-NOM-MOD tough-ADJ-that
tough anymore, the way they act (nowadays); it is hard to gain

tʉsu'a-gha-'uru, níaavi-gya-y-'uru 'uni-na-pʉ̲; chichigya-rʉ̲-'uru
wisdom-have-that name-have-IMM-that do-REL-NOM hard-ADJ-that
wisdom, the way the Known One(s)[1] used to dot; it is hard to gain

tʉsu'a-gha-'uru, níaavi-gya-y-'uru 'uni-na-pʉ̲, púupa-amʉ̲
wisdom-have-that name-have-IMM-that do-REL-NOM way-3p
wisdom, the way the Known Ones used to act, the way they used

'uni-kya-na-pʉ̲; 'áavʉ-sapa̲ ka-'úu-pani 'ura-wa-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay, kach-ukh
do-PL-REL-NOM now-MOD NEG-that-like be-NEG-NOM be-IMM NEG-it
to do; nowadays it is not like this anymore, one doesn't see

'úu-pani ma-maay-'wa-tʉ̲, púupa-aqh-'uru 'ura-na-pʉ̲.
there-like RED-see-NEG-NOM way-it-that be-REL-NOM
it like that anymore, the way it used to be.

'úniguni̲-'ura mama-kwa-nhka-y-'uru… mama-kwa-nhka-y
sudden-be woman-go-dance/PL-IMM-that woman-go-dance/PL-IMM
Well, the Bear-dancing… the Bear-dancing

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1. The verbal expression *níaavi-gya-y* 'being well-known' means, literally 'having a name'. It may be nominalized into the singular *níaavi-gya-tʉ̲* 'a well-know person' (lit. 'one who has a name'); or the plural *ni-niaavi-gya-tʉ-mʉ* 'wel known people' (lit. 'those who have a name'). The nominal derivative of the inalienably possessed níaa- 'name', *níaa-vi̲*, means either 'name' or 'hero'. And because the defective verb -ga- 'have' could also mean 'be', níaavi-gya-tʉ̲ could also mean 'who is a hero'.

káa-qha-y, súu-kunani, 'u-vwaa-nạ-'ura tʉvwa kwịpa-ti-aa-va 'uru,
sing-PL-IMM other-O thereat-LOC-be down hit-CAUS-O-at the/O
and singing, (it was) at another (place), down where the baseball field is,

múa-ghani 'u-rʉkwạ, 'ú-vway-'uru mama-khwa-nhka-mi;
father-house/O there-down there-at-that woman-go-dance/PL-HAB
down where the Agency is, right there they used to Bear-dance;

'áavʉ-'ura pa'a-kʉma-s 'ura-'ay tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-tʉ,
now-be very-other-C be-IMM country-at-NOM
nowadays that place is very different,

pʉ́-paay-amʉ 'uni-kya-na-pʉ, 'uru sʉʉvʉpʉ-agha-mi
REL-at-3p do-PL-REL-NOM that/O cottonwood-have-HAB
where they used to do it, where there are those

sʉʉvʉpʉ wʉnʉ-rʉ, kh-'ura 'ú-vway mama-khwa-nhka-mi.
cottonwood/O stand-ADJ/O then-be there-at woman-go-dance/PL-HAB
cottonwoods(,) (the) tall cottonwoods, that's where they used to Beardance then.

Sinawavi nhka-mi-'ura, 'uni-kya-maku-chị, tawa-khwa-nhka-miya-s;
God/G dance/PL-HAB-be do-PL-finish-NOM war-go-dance/PL-HAB-C
They used to do the Spirit-Dance, after they finished doing (the Beardance),

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura manu-khʉ-pa 'uni-kya-mi,
there-at-it-be all-O-DIR do-PL-HAB
and the War-Dance too; in those days they used to dance everywhere,

'i-vee-wa-aqh pʉ́-paay-amʉ-av mama-khwa-nhka-mi-na-y 'uni-kya-yis,
here-at-??-it REL-DIR-3p-OWN woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REL-O do-PL-C
they would do it right here where they do the Beardance nowadays,

ma-vaa tíi 'aka-púuri-gyapʉ kani-gyapʉ-vay,
there-at high red-bend-DEFUN/G house-DEFUN-at
and up there where old Red-Bend's old house used to be,

'uni-kyay-is mama-kwa-nhka-yis 'u-vwaay;
do-PL-C woman-go-dance/PL-C there-at
they would Bear-dance there too;

'agha-vaa-sapạ-'uru mama-kwa-nhka-mi.
WH-at-MOD-that woman-go-dance/PL-HAB
they would Bear-dance all over the place.

nʉ́-'uru-'ʉ 'áa'wi-sʉti'ị-ni 'umʉ[-a]-s-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway
1s/s-that-C fresh-feel-like 3p/G-C-be-that there-at
I myself remember vividly the way they

'uni-kya-kha[-na], suway-kyay-ku; 'u-vwaa-tʉ sumay-kya-y
do-PL-ANT-REL proud-PL-SUB there-at-DIR think-PL-IMM
used to do it, when they were still proud; they would

'uru tama-ri-khu-'uru, máy-kh-'ura ta'wavi-amʉ: "'uvwiya-kway
that/O spring-do-SUB-that say-IMM-be chief-3p HORT-MOD
plan for it when spring came, their chief would say: "Let's get

nawira-qa-kway 'u-vwaa-tʉ, 'u-vwaa-tʉ-'ara sumay-kya-nʉ"…
prepare-PL-MOD there-a-DIR there-at-NOM-be think-PL-IMP
ready for it, let's plan for it…

'uru… tawi-'uru mama-khwa-nhka-mi-na[-y].
that/O 2p/IN/G-that woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REL-O
for that… for our Beardance.

'ʉvʉs, 'uni-ta-y-'ura 'u-vwaa-tʉ, 'áayh-pʉchi-u 'ini-a-sapa,
end do-PASS-O-that there-at-DIR young.man-DIM-PL WH-G-MOD
Well, it was done that way, the young men whoever,

máamachi-u, 'u-vwaa-tʉ púka tʉ-tʉsu'a-qha-y, táa-rʉ-kwa-y,
women-PL there-at-DIR hard RED-feel-PL-IMM shirt-make-go-IMM
and the women would be really looking forward to it, making dresses,

'ini-kya-vaa-na-av 'uru, mama-kwa-wi'i-chi-'uru; mámʉ táata'wachi-u
make-PL-IRR-REL-OWN that/O woman-go-dance-NOM-that those/s men-PL
what they were going to make, for when they would Bear-dance; and those men

'úu-pa-sʉ-ni 'ura-yis; 'úmʉ 'avaachi-u miya-'ni-mi-yis;
there-at-C-like be-C those/s Apache-PL go/PL-INT-HAB-C
would do the same; and those Apaches would wander about,

'áapachi[-gyay]-khu-n-'uru pʉnikya-mi-yis, nʉka-kwasa-gha-mi,
boy-be-SUB-1s-that see-HAB-C bead-boot-have-HAB
when I was a boy I used to see them, with their beaded moccasins,

nʉka-'ini-kya-mi; núu-aagha 'úmʉ, mama-kwa-nhka-gha-'uru,
bead-make-PL-HAB person-have 3p/s woman-go-dance/PL-PAR-that
they used to do beading; there was quite a crowd of them, Bear-dancing,

súu-roghoy-mi.
strong-good-HAB
it was very good.

MÚusa-khapi-taa-chi 'u-vwaa pagha-'ni, 'uru yuni-gu-amʉ-'uru,
cat-??-DIM-NOM there-at go-INT/IMM that dance/PL-SUB-3p-that
The Cat-Man would be going around there, when they were dancing,

máamạchi-u 'umʉ táaparʉvʉ choʻwa-pagha-ta, 'úmʉ táata'wachi-u
women-PL the/G shawl/O snatch-go-PASS those/G men-PL
the women's shawls would be snatched (by the Cat-Man), the men's

káachoghopʉ-amʉ̲, ká-káachoghopʉ-'a-y yuni-mi; 'umʉs-'ura…
hat/O-3p NEG-hat-have/NEG-IMM dance/PL-HAB 3p/s-be
hats too, they would dance hatless then; they…

múusa-khạpi-taa-chi-u 'úu-pa pagha-'ni-mi, 'ú nanapʉchi-gyapʉ̲,
cat-??-DIM-NOM-PL there-DIR go-INT-HAB that/s old.man-DEF
the (two) Cat-Men would go around there, that departed little old man,

máa-y Willie Monte múa-ghapʉ̲ piraasi-gyapʉ̲, 'ú-'u 'ura-gʉ,
that-G Willie Monte/G father-DEFUN Blas-DEFUN that/s-that be-EM
Willie Monte's late father old Blas, he used to be (a Cat-Man),

súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-gu-s.
other-NOM-PL/S be-EM-C
and others were too.

'áavʉ-naaghạ-tugwa-sapạ-'uru, 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru mʉrʉkachi̲ 'u
now-maybe-go-MOD-that there-at-it-that whiteman/s the/s
A bit closer to now, there was this White-man going around,

pagha-'ni-mi, núu-agha-vạ, 'umʉ-aagha-vạ núuchi-u pagha-'ni-mi tʉ́sapạ;
go-INT-HAB person-have-at 3p/O-have-at person-PL go-INT-HAB always
among the Indians, he would always wander about among the Indians;

Jim Bradshaw máy-gya-pʉ̲-'u, 'u-vwaa 'umʉ-aagha-vạ pagha-'ni-mi,
J. B. say-ANT-NOM-3s there-at 3p/O-have-at go-INT-HAB
Jim Bradshaw was his name, he would go among them,

múusa-khạpi-taa-chi-miya-s, núuchi-u-wa 'uni-mi, pagha-'ni-mi
cat-??-DIM-NOM-HAB-C people-PL-with do-IMM fo-INT-HAB
he would be a Cat-Man, he did it with the Indians, that one

'ú-'u, súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-yis.
that/s-that/s other-NOM-PL/S be-C
would walk around, and there were other's too.

'ú-vway-'ura-'uru nhka-mi, kwáa-'uru, 'uru kwi̲pa-ti-gyay
there-at-be-that dance/PL-HAB run-that that/O hit-CAUS-PAR/O
They used to dance over there, that-a-way, down where the baseball field

'u-rʉkwạ̲ tʉvwa; núu-agha-mi tʉvwa, 'uru naru'a-ghani-gyapʉ
there-down down person-have-HAB down that/O that/O buy-house-DEFUN/O
is now; there used to be a big crowd down there, where the old Trading Post

wíi-kyarʉ-rʉ̲; Roy Hall-gyapʉ naru'a-ghani-gyapʉ̲, Roy Hall… 'úru̲-'ʉ
old-sit-AD Roy Hall-DEFUN/G buy-house-DEFUN R. H. that/S-EM
used to stand, old Roy Hall's old trading Post, Roy Hall… that one

'u-rʉkwa̲ tʉvwa, múa-ghani 'uru, núu-múa-ghani 'uru, ta'wavi
there-down down father-house/O the/O Indian-father-house/O the/O chief/G
down there, the BIA building, The Indian-Father's house, (it's) the Government

múa-ghani 'áavu̲.
father-house/O now
building now.

'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲ pərə-navichi-ku̲, púupa-amʉ̲ 'uni-kya-na-pʉ̲ 'ura-'ay,
there-at-go walk/PL-MASS-SUB way-3p do-PL-REL-NOM be-IMM
And when they would march down there, it was the way they used to do it,

'úru̲ 'ugwiavi̲ 'ura-navichi 'ura-'ay; kachu-ku-n sumay-wa…
that/S song/S be-MASS/IMM be-IMM NEG-it-1s remember-NEG
it was with songs; I don't (quite) remember it…

ká-sumay-wa… ['uru] káa-qha-na-pʉ̲-amʉ̲… 'ava'natʉ̲-'ura 'uru-'way,
NEG-remember-NEG [that/O] sing-PL-REL-NOM-3p many-be that-IMM
I don't (quite) remember… what they sang… there were many of them,

'ugwiavi̲-'uru.
song/S-that
those songs.

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura ma-vaay 'uni-kya-y-is, 'áavʉ̲-aqh pʉ́-paa-aqh
there-at-it-TOP-be there-at do-PL-IMM-C now-it REL-DIR-it
Then later on they (started) doing the Beardance that-a-way, where

'ura-na̲, ma-vaay miya-vagha tíi; márʉ̲-'ura tʉvʉpʉ-aa-va pʉ́-paay-'ura
be-REM there-at far-go high that/S-be ground-O-at REL-DIR-be
it is now, far up there; that ground where they

mama-khwa-nhka-mi[-na̲]
woman-go-dance/PL-HAB-REL
Beardance nowadays.

márʉ̲ míipʉ-chi-chi-gya-kway, 'ichay núu-agha 'ava'natʉ̲ tʉga-y,
that/S small-DIM-NOM-be-MOD this/O person-have many become-IMM
It is shrinking down, there are too many people (in the tribe),

kách-'ura… kách… pa'ay-wa-tʉ-mʉ-s 'ura-'ay, 'áavʉ̲ manu-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s
NEG-be NEG few-NEG-PL-C be-IMM now all-O-PART-PL-C
they're not… not… few of them are (full blood), nowadays they are

chiki-kya-tʉ-mʉ̲; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'úmʉ-aa-tʉ̲-a-s núuchi-u 'ura-'ay;
mix-ANT-NOM-PL there-at-it-be 3p-G-NOM-G-C Ute-PL be-IMM
all mixed (blood); so just few of them are Utes;

'áavʉ-nugway pagha-wiichi-u 'ura-yis, manú-khu̲-tʉ-mʉ-s
now-TOP walk-knife-PL be-C all-O-PART-PL-C
nowadays (they are) Navajos too, all of them have

chiki-kya[-kha-amʉ̲]
mix-PL-PASS-3p
all gotten mixed.

'uru 'uni-kya-khay-ku̲-'uru 'uru mama-kwa-nhka-gha-'uru…
that/O do-PL-ANT-SUB-that that/O woman-go-dance/PL-PAR-that
When they did the Beardancing like that…

'únigunį̲-'ura súu-roghoy-sapa̲-'ura; 'áavʉ̲-'ura 'áayh-pʉchi[-u] 'ímʉ̲
sudden-be strong-good-MOD-be now-be young.men-DIM-PL these/S
wow, it was real good; nowadays these young men(,) the

'áa-gha-rʉ-mʉ̲ kach-aqh pu̲chuchugwa-wa,
young-have-ADJ-PL/S NEG-it know-NEG
young(,) they don't understand it,

su̲-supay-kwa-vaa-ni-aqh-'ura 'anʊ-khwa-sapa̲; kach-aqh
RED-leave-go-IRR-FUT-it-be WH/time-go-MOD NEG-it
they will quit (doing) it some day; they don't sing them, these Beardance

káa-qha-'wa-y, 'ichay mama-khwa-'ugwiavi, ka-'u-vwaa 'uni[-kya]-na-y;
sing-PL-NEG-IMM this/O woman-go-song/O NEG-there-at do-PL-REL-O
songs, not the way they used to; "I'm Ute!" they may say;

"nʉ́-gʉ-s-'ura núuchį̲!" máy-kya-sapa̲; "kach-ukh púupa-aqh 'ura-na-y"
1S-EM-C-be Ute say-PL-MOD NEG-it way-it be-REL-IMM
and who is going to tell it to them: "It isn't the way you do it"?

'áa-aqh-'ura máy-vee-ni? nana-pʉchį̲? "mʉni-gya-ukh 'ú-'u̲ni-kya-paa-tʉ̲
WH/S-it-be say-IRR-FUT old.man-DIM/S 2p-EM-it RED-do-PL-IRR-NOM
a little old man? Nobody tells them: "You should do it

'ura-'ay…" ká-máy-wa; kách-'ura… 'ichay máy-ta-wa…
be-IMM NEG-say-NEG NEG-be this/O say-PASS-NEG
(this way)…" this is never said any more… we ourselves

nʉmʉy-sa máy-ta-miya-khu̲, ta'wavi-mʉ̲ 'u 'apagha-rʉ̲; 'u-vwaa…
1p/O-TOP say-PASS-go-it chief-2S the/S speak-ADJ there-at…
used to be told this, the chief would speak to you; then…

nana-pʉchi-gyapʉ pivi-gya nana-pʉga-pʉ káa-gha-'u, ['ú]
old.man-DIM-DEFUN cling-PAR grow-REM-NOM sing-PAR-3s that/s
Old man Pivigya (John Dale) grew old singing (Beardance songs), that

nana-pʉchi 'u-ma-tugwa-s nana-pʉchi tʉgay-kwa-y, pivi-s…
old.man-DIM there-LOC-go-C old.man-DIM/O become-go-IMM cling-C
little old man became an old man right there (singing Beardance songs), Pivi…

súuva-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-yi-s, káa-qha-tʉ-mʉ; súu-chi-s pagha-'ni 'áavʉ,
other-NOM-PL/S be-IMM-C sing-PL-NOM-PL one-NOM-C go-INT/IMM now
and there were other too, singers; only one is still alive now,

tʉvʉchi súu-chi-s piya-khwa-kwa 'umʉ-a-tʉ, 'ú piya-kwana-pʉ
very one-NOM-C remain-go-ANT 3p-PART-NOM that/s sweet-smell-NOM
the only one still left of them, that Sweet-Smell (Harry Richards)

káa-na-pʉga-tʉ 'ú-vway; 'ú-'ura 'áavʉ togho-pagha-'ni-yi-s 'uwas;
sing-HAB-REM-NOM there-at 3p/s-be now right-go-INT/IMM-C 3s/s
used to sing then; he is the only one now that is still alive;

nú-'ura 'ásti'i 'úu-pa-ni-aqh 'ura-vaa[-chi], 'umʉ píischi-u,
1s/s-be want/IMM there-DIR-like-it be-IRR-SUB 3p/O children-PL
I myself would like it to be (again) like that, so that those children,

kach-aqh-amʉ su-supay-ta-khu 'uru, [púupa] 'uni-kya-na-av-'uru,
NEG-it-3p RED-leave-PASS-it that/O way do-PL-REL-OWN-that
that they should never quit it, (that they would learn) the way it used to be done,

'ichay mama-kwa-nhka-na-av, núu-mani-kya-na-av.
this/O woman-go-dance/PL-REL-OWN Ute-do.like-PL-REL-OWN
this Beardancing of ours, the Ute way of doing.

'áavʉ-'ura kʉma-ni tʉgay-kwa-y, kach-aqh… púupa-aqh-'uru
now-be other-like become-go-IMM NEG-it way-it-that
Nowadays it has become quite different, there's no… the way

wachʉ-ka-na-y, kach-ukh puchuchugwa-wa, púupa-aqh-'uru
put-PASS-REL-O NEG-it know-NEG/IMM way-it-that
things are, nobody knows it any more, the way it was supposed

máy-ti-kya-na-y, su-sumuay-kway-ku tawi; máy-kya-ra-nʉ-s 'áy-kh.
say-CAUS-ANT-REL-O RED-forget-go-SUB 2p/IN/G say-ANT-be-1s-C say-IMM
to be said (done), when we have forgotten (it all); I have spoken.

TEXT 28

The origin of the Sundance[1]

told by: Mollie B. Cloud
date recorded: 12-16-76
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'urus 'ura-pʉga, tagu-nhka-paa-tʉ 'úru wíitʉs; 'umʉs wá-ini
that/s be-REM power-dance/PL-DIR-DIR that/s past 3p/s two-s
It was, about the Sundance long ago; there were (only) the two of

'ura-pʉga, 'áayh-pʉchi, mama-saghoy-chi, pía-av-'ura.. 'uway,
be-REM young.man-DIM woman-belly-NOM mother-OWN 3s/G
them (left), a young man, and an old woman, his mother… his,

pía-ri-kya-na-'u 'ura-pʉga-vachi.
mother-do-ANT-REL-3s be-REM-BG
she was his mother.

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru nasʊt'a-khwa-pʉga, ta'wachi 'u,
then-be 3s/s-that lonely-go-REM man/s the/s
Well he was getting lonely, the (young) man,

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1. The English term 'Sundance' is a lingering misnomer, perhaps borrowed from the Lakota. The name for the Ute Sundance, *tagu-wʉni*, may be translated as 'Standing for spiritual power', i.e. standing for *tagu-pʉ*. An alternative name is *tagu-nhka-pʉ* 'Medicine-Power-Dance'. Because a strict four-day fast is involved, and because *tʉgʉy-* is the Ute verb for 'be hungry', some people interpret *tagu-wʉni* as 'Standing Hungry'. Some sources suggest that the name of the young Ute man who received the Sundance instruction from Jesus was *túu-nachi-tʊ'ʊ-pʉ* 'black cane'. He is said to have been the older brother of Peter Spencer, thus the son of a Ute man named *núu-sáaqhachi* 'Ghost-Person'. For some speakers, *sáa-qha-chi* 'the white one' means 'Bigfoot', 'Sasquatch', which in the Ute tradition was white haired.

ka-pʉ́a-u-'wa-y, tapʉyu-kwa-pʉga-vachi-mʉ; kh-'ura-'uru
NEG-kin-PL-have/NEG-IMM perish-ANT-REM-BG-PL then-be-that
he had no kin, they had all perished (in the epidemic); so he was

tʉna-vʊrʊ-rʉ 'ura-pʉga-vachì 'uwas, tʉna-khwa-pʉga-'ura,
hunt-go-ADJ be-REM-BG 3s/S hunt-go-REM-be
roaming about hunting, he went hunting around,

paghay-kwa-pʉga, wa'apʉ-náagha-tʉ-paa, Mancos Creeki-vee
walk-go-REM cedar/O-in-DIR-DIR Mancos Creek/O-at
he roamed about, in the cedar-covered country, it was around Mancos Creek,

'ura-pʉga-vachi, wíitʉs-'uru.
be-REM-BG past-that
long ago.

kh-'ura-'uru tʉna-vʊrʊ-khu-'uru, ka-['ipʉ-a-sapa] paqha-pʉa,
then-be-that hunt-go-SUB-that NEG-WH-O-MOD kill-REM/NEG
So as he was hunting around, he killed nothing, he didn't kill

ka-tʉiyʉ paqha-pʉa; kh-'ura-'uru pina-ravay 'uni-'a-pʉga-s;
NEG-dear/O kill-REM/NEG then-be-that follow-day do-??-REM-C
any deer; well the next day he tried again; having killed

[ka-]tʉiyʉ paqha-nay-'uru, tʉna-khwa-pʉga-s; kh-'ura-'uru
NEG-deer kill-ANT/NEG-that hunt-go-REM-C then-be-that
no deer (the first day), he went hunting again; and again he kept

pa-payu-khwa-pʉga-s.
RED-return-go-REM-C
coming back (empty handed).

kh-'ura-'uru nasʊt'ay-kwa-pʉga; 'uwas-kway-'uru…
then-be-that lonely-go-REM 3s/S-MOD-that
He was getting lonely; he…

ka-pʉ́a-'wa-y-'uru; kh-'ura-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura pina[-khwa]
NEG-kin-have/NEG-IMM-that then-be-that there-at-it-be follow-go
had no kin; then finally he was brooding, he was getting

sumay-'ni-pʉga, nasʊt'ay-kwa-pʉga, kh-'ura nanʊs na-vaqha-vaa-chi
think-INT-REM lonely-go-REM then-be self REFL-kill-IRR-NOM
so lonely, he thought of killing himself, of shooting himself

[sumay-'ni-pʉga], tachi-av-'uru kukwi-vaa-chi, tʉpʉy-paya-agha-tʉ-paa;
think-INT-REM head-OWN-that shoot-IRR-NOM rock-side-have-NOM
in the head, out there on the rocky hillside;

tʉpʉy-wʉgaa-mą karʉ-pʉga, na-vaqha-vaa-chį-'ura.
rock-hill-LOC sit-REM REFL-kill-IRR-NOM-be
he sat there on the rocky hillside, he was going to kill himself.

kh-'ura-'uru kachi-s-ukh-'uru 'ʉri-'wa-y-'uru tʉpʉy[-av];
then-be-that NEG-C-it-that load-NEG-IMM-that rock-OWN
He had yet to load his gun;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru múupʉchį yagha-pʉga 'uway 'i-na-khwa-paa-y;
there-at-it-be-that owl/S cry-REM 3s/O here-LOC-go-DIR-O
then all of a sudden an owl hooted right behind him;

kava-yi 'uway tąpi-chą'a-qha-y… ['uru] tąpi-chą'a-qha-ną-'u…
horse-O the/O heel-catch-ANT-O that heel-catch-ANT-REL-3s
he had hobbled his horse… right where he had hobbled it…

'ú-'ųway 'i-na-khwa-pų yagha-pʉga.
RED-3s/O here-LOC-go-NOM cry-REM
it (the owl) hooted right behind him.

na-vaqha-vaa-qha-ną-'ura-'uru 'ʉvʉsą-pʉga, tʉpʉy-paya-mą karʉ-khų,
REFL-kill-IRR-ANT-REL-be-that end-REM rock-side-LOC sit-SUB
Well, he stopped trying to kill himself, as he sat there on the rocky cliff,

tʉpʉy-wʉga-agha-tʉ-mą karʉ-khų; 'ú-vwa-aqh-'ura-'uru 'agha-ni-aa
rock-hill-have-NOM-LOC sit-SUB there-at-it-be-that WH-do-Q
as he sat there on the rocky hillside; then for whatever

na'ayh-pʉga 'uwas: "'agha-ni-vaa-chį" 'áy-pʉga, "nʉ́nay
angry-REM 3s/S WH-d-IRR-NOM sa-REM 1s/O
reason he got angry: "Why should it be" he said, "that this

yagha-kʉ-vʊrʊ-gha 'ú múupʉchį, [ka-]paqha-kwa-paa-'wa-kų?"
cry-BEN-go-PAR that/S owl/S NEG-kill-go-IRR-NEG-SUB
owl is calling me to not kill myself?"

'áy-pʉga-'ura, máy-pʉgaa-ni.
say-REM-be say-REM-like
he said, he thought.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru puku-a-'u… puku-a 'uway 'uwa-mį-tukhwą
there-at-it-be-that horse/O-3s horse-G 3s/O 3s/O-LOC-go
It was (toward) his horse… it was crying toward where his

yagha-pagha-pʉga, 'ú múupʉchį; karʉ-khų, karʉ-khų-'uru,
cry-go-REM that/S owl/S sit-SUB sit-SUB-that
horse was, that owl; when sitting, when he was sitting,

'uwa-'i-na-kwa-pʉ̲ yagha-pʉga 'uwas; 'úu-pa-'ura-'uru múupʉchi̲ 'u
3s/o-here-loc-go-nom cry-rem 3s/s there-dir-be-that owl/s the/s
it was crying in the direction of (his horse); that way the owl was

kava-vaa-chugway-'u mʉi-kʉ-pagha-pʉga, yagha-pagha-pʉga;
horse-at-go-3s lead-ben-go-rem cry-go-rem
leading him gradually to his horse, crying on and on;

súu-miya-'ura 'uwas kava-yi[-av] ta̲pi-cha̲'a[-qha]-pʉga-vachi̲.
strong-far-be 3s/s horse-o-own heel-catch-ant-rem-bg
he had hobbled his horse far away.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru, karʉ-khu̲-'uru… 'áy máy… puku-a-tʉ̲-av
there-at-it-be-that sit-sub-that… say say house-o-nom-own
Now, when sitting… I mean… he stepped (on)

'ʉ-tavi-pʉga; 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'ura-'uru 'uwayas-'uru… 'uwa-vaa-na̲
just-step-rem there-at-it-top-be-that 3s/g-that 3s/o-at-loc
his horse; right there and then his… he

chipi-khwa-pʉga, payu-khwa-pʉga kani-vaa-tugwa-av; súu-miya̲
climb-go-rem return-go-rem house-at-go-own strong-far
mounted his horse and went back home; he rode

'uni-vərə-pʉga, kh-'ura kaguchi-av 'uway pichʉ-gwa-chi̲ 'áy-pʉga:
do-go-rem then-be grandma-own 3s/o arrive-par-nom say-rem
a good distance, then arriving at his grandmother's (place)[2] he told her:

"nasóta̲'a-khwa-y, suwa na-vaqha-khu̲" 'áy-pʉga,
lonely-go-imm almost refl-kill-sub say-rem
"I have gotten lonely, when I almost killed myself" he said,

"na̲sətə̲'ay-khwa[-qhay-ku̲]-'uru" máy-pʉga; "na̲sətə̲'ay-kwa-y
lonely-go-ant-sub-that say-rem lonely-go-imm
"because I got lonely" he said; "Why are you lonely?"

agha-ni-gya?" máy-pʉga-'uru 'ú kaguchi-'u, "nʉ́-nugway pagha-'ni;
wh-do-par say-rem-that that/s grandma-3s 1s/s-top go-int/imm
asked his grandmother, "when I myself am still alive;

kách-'uru 'ú-'u̲ni-nʉ-pʉa-y!" máy-pʉgay-'ura-'uru.
neg-that red-do-imp-rem/neg-imm say-rem-be-that
you shouldn't have done it!" she said.

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2. Earlier in the story, the old woman was identified as his mother.

'ú-vway-aqh 'uwas-'ura-'uru pina-ravay 'uni-'a-pʉga-s;
there-at-it 3s/s-be-that follow-day do-??-REM
Well the following day he went out again;

nanʊsi̲[-kya]-pʉga pʉi-gya-'uru, 'úu-pa-aqh tʉiyʉ̲ 'áy-pʉga,
dream-ANT-REM sleep-PAR-that there-DIR-it dee/s sa-REM
he had had a dream while in his sleep, a deer was saying,

tʉpʉy-si̲pa'ni-chi-paa-tukhwa̲-'uru;… tʉpʉy-si̲pa'ni-chi̲ 'ura-'ay…
rock-flat-NOM/O-DIR-go-that rock-flat-NOM be-IMM
(going) that-a-way across a rocky mesa… it was a rocky flat mesa…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru tʉvʉchi-sapa̲ nawa-agha-pʉga, tʉiyʉ
there-at-it-be-that true-MOD tracks-have-REM deer/G
Then sure enough there were tracks there, of a deer

tʉpʉy-si̲pa'ni-chi-paa-tukhwa̲-'uru; kh-'ura-'uru máy-pʉgaa-ni,
rock-flat-NOM-DIR-go-that then-be-that say-REM-like
going across the rocky mesa; so he thought, someone kept

'i-vee-chi̲ su̲-sukwi-pʉga, wíya-chi-gya-pʉga-'ura, 'úniguni
here-at-NOM RED-whistle-REM valley-NOM-be-REM-be sudden
whistling right there, there was an arroyo there, and all of a sudden

mana-khwa-tugwa-vaa-tʉ su̲-sukwi-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-tʉ kwá pʉnikya-pʉga
leave-go-go-at-DIR RED-whistle-REM there-at-DIR INTJ see-REM
there was whistling from right across; then right there he saw

'uwas, natʉna-vʊrʊ-ghwa-s 'uway tʉiyʉ, nawaa-y; 'úniguni 'u-vwaa
3s/s track-go-PAR-C 3s/O deer/O tracks-O sudden there-at
(it), tracking that deer, (it's) tracks; and lo, there was (a man)

wʉnʉ-pʉga, mʉrʉkachi̲, sá-gha-rʉ-mʉ puku-gwa-tʉ̲,
stand-REM Ehiteman/s white-have-ADJ-AN/O horse-have-NOM
standing there, a Whiteman, he had a white horse,

sá-gha-rʉ táa-gha-tʉ̲; mʉrʉkachi̲ 'ura-pʉgay-'u.
white-have-ADJ/O shirt-have-NOM Whiteman/s be-REM-3s
he had a white robe; it was a Whiteman.

"'agha-ni-'ara táa-gha[-y]?" máy-pʉga-sʉ-ni 'uwas, "mʉrʉkachi-sapa̲
WH-do-be shirt-have-IMM say-REM-C-like 3s/s Whiteman/G-MOD
"What manner of dress is it?" he thought, "it must be the

'ína̲ 'ara-gha" 'áy-pʉga; 'uwa-vaa-chʉ pʉni-wʉnʉ-pʉga; ['uwas-'ura]
this/s be-PAR say-REM 3s/s-at-DIR look-stand-REM 3s/s-be
Whiteman's way" he thought; so he stood watching him; then the

pa'ay-pʉay-aghay-'u: "péyu̲-ki̲!" 'áy-pʉay-aghay-'u; 'únigunu̲-'ura
call-REM-CL-3s come-IMM/IMP say-REM-CL-3s sudden-be
Whiteman hailed him: "Come over!" he told him; so the

chaghachi-va̲ tʉgay-paghay-pʉga 'uwas; ['uwas-'ura]
near-at approach-walk-REM 3s/s 3s/s-be
Young Man walked over there; then the

'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲ 'apagha̲-pʉay-agha[y-'u].
3s/O-at-go speak-REM-CL-3s
Whiteman spoke directly to him.

manu-khu̲-tʉ̲-aa-s 'apagha̲-pʉga… kh-'ura-'uru… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…
all-O-NOM-O-C speak-REM then-be-that INTJ
He spoke all languages… then… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…

mʉrʉka-'apagha̲-pʉga, pina-khwa̲ kukwa-'apagha̲-pʉga-vachi̲,
Englisj-speak-REM follow-go Spanish-speak-REM-BG
he spoke English, then he spoke in Spanish,

['uwas-'ura] ká-nʉka-pʉa; pina-khwa̲… manu-khu̲-tʉ tʉvʉpʉ-aa
3s/s-be NEG-hear-REM/NEG follow-go all-O-NOM/O country-G
but the Young Man didn't understand; later still… (the Whiteman)

uni-kya-tʉ-mʉ núu-a-u-agha̲ 'apagha[-qa]-na-y 'apagha̲-pʉga,
do-PL-NOM-PL/G person-G-PL-have speak-PL-REL-O speak-REM,
spoke the languages of all the peoples of the world,

manu-khu̲-tʉ 'apagha̲-pʉga…
all-O-NOM/O speak-REM
he spoke all of them…

pina-khwa̲ 'uru̲-'uru núu-'apagha-na̲-av-'uru, pina-khwa̲; núu-a-khu̲
follow-go that/s-that Ute-speak-REL-OWN-that follow-go; Ute-O-it
Finally he (spoke to him) in his own Ute, at last; but first, before

namu-tʉ 'áy-vaa-khu̲-'uru, pagha-wii-'apagha̲-pʉga kwáy… 'uru̲-'ʉ
first-DIR say-IRR-SUB-that walk-knife-speak-REM INTJ that-EM
the Whiteman would speak Ute, he spoke Navajo… and that

nʉka-pʉga-s ['uwas]; pina-máy-na-av-'uru núu-'apagha̲-pʉga,
hear-REM-C 3s/s follow-say-REL-OWN-that Ute-speak-REM
the Young Man understood; what (the Whiteman) said last he said in Ute,

pu̲chuchugwa-pʉgay-ku̲ ['uwas].
know-REM-it 3s/s
and the Young Man understood it.

ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru pʉni-ti-pʉay-aghay-ˈu… pʉni-ti-pʉay-aghay-ˈu…
there-at-it-be-that see-CAUS-REM-CL-3s see-CAUS-REM-CL-3s
Then the Whiteman showed him… he showed him…

pʉni-ti-pʉgay-ˈu… mʊˈʊ-av ˈuru [pʉ́-m-ˈuru]
see-CAUS-REM-3s hand-OWN the/O REL-LOC-that
showed him… his hands (the wounds) where

tapagha-qha-pʉa-na̲-av-ˈuru… ˈawatapʉ[-ˈu] pʉ́-paa-tʉ tʊna-ta-pʉay-ˈu;
nail-PASS-REM-REL-OWN-that rib/O-3s REL-LOC-DIR stab-PASS-REM-3s
he had been nailed… and his ribs where he had been stabbed;

“ˈagha-ni-ˈara ma-ra-ˈay-sʉ-ni?” ˈáy-pʉga-s ˈuwas; ˈuwas kh-ˈura
WH-do-be that-be-IMM-C-like say-REM-C 3s/s 3s/s then-be
“How come you are (wounded) like that?” the Young Man asked;

paˈa-núuchi̲ ˈura-pʉga… ká-ˈipʉ-a-sapa̲… ká-ˈipʉ-a-sapa̲
complete-person be-REM NEG-WW-O-MOD NEG-WH-O-MOD
the Whiteman was a whole person… there was nothing… there was

ˈura-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲ ˈura-pʉga.
be-NEG-NOM-AN be-REM
nothing missing (about him).

[ˈuwas-ˈura] tagha-pʉchi̲ ˈú-ra-sapa̲-ˈura… nʉka-tʉ̲ ˈura-pʉga
3s/s-be orphan-DIM that-be-MOD-be hear-NOM be-REM
The Young Man was an orphan… he could only understand

pagha-wii-ˈapagha-na̲-av, núu-ˈapagha-na̲-av; ká-mʉrʉka-nʉka-tʉ̲
go-knife-speak-REL-OWN Ute-speak-REL-OWN NEG-English-hear-NOM
(the Whiteman’s) speaking Navajo, or Ute; he didn’t understand English;

ˈura-pʉga; ˈúniguni̲-ˈuru ˈuwas-ˈuru kach-ukh pu̲chuchugwa-pʉa-s ˈuru,
be-REM sudden-that 3s/s-that NEG-it knowy-REM/NEG-NOM that/O
and he didn’t know any of it,

ˈuway mʉrʉkachi payaa-ma̲-ˈuru ta̲pagha-ta-qha-pʉga-tʉ̲;
3s/G Whiteman/G side-LOC-that nail-PASS-ANT-REM-NOM
about that Whiteman being nailed through his side (to the cross);

[ˈuwayas] máy-kya-na̲-ˈuru ká-pu̲chuchugwa-pʉa-s; “ˈíni̲-uv ˈura-ˈwa-ˈa?”
3s/G say-ANT-REL-that NEG-know-REM/NEG-C WH/S-?? be-??-3s
of what the Whiteman said he knew nothing; “Who is this one?”

máy-pʉga-sʉ-ni; ˈúniguni̲-ˈura ˈuwas ˈu Jesus ˈura-pʉga, ˈú-ˈu
say-REM-C-like sudden-be 3s/s the/s Jesus be-REM that/s-3s
he wondered; and lo – it was Jesus, it was

'ura-pʉga, mɵchɵ-gwa-tʉ 'ura-pʉga, páagi-gya-tʉ…
be-REM beard-have-NOM be-REM hair-have-NOM
him, he was bearded, he had (long) hair…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru… pʉsariniya… "'ʉmʉy-vaa-chugwa-n
there-at-it-be-that story.tell… 2s/O-at-go-1s
Then… (Jesus) told him the story… "I will

'apagha-vaa-ni" 'áy-pʉga, "i'chay-'uru kʉ́aw 'ichay tạchi-av
speak-IRR-FUT say-REM this/O-that yesterday this/O head-OWN
speak to you now" he said, "about your thinking yesterday

kukwi-vaa-chi̱ máy-kya-tʉ-ni 'ura-'ay" 'áy-pʉga-'ura; "'ʉ́mʉ̱-'ura
shoot-IRR-NOM say-ANT-NOM-like be-IMM say-REM-be 2s/s-be
of shooting yourself in the head" he said; "You should

ká-'uni-nʉ-'wa-tʉ̱, taghapʉchi-gyay-sapa̱" 'áy-pʉga kh-'ura;
NEG-do-IMP-NEG-NOM orphan-be-MOD say-REM then-be
not do it, even if you may be an orphan" he said then;

"'ʉmʉy-vaa-chugwa-nʉ-s 'ápagha-vaa-ni 'áavʉ̱" máy-pʉga;
2s/s-at-go-1s-C speak-IRR-FUT now say-REM
"I will speak to you now (about it)" he said,

"'ʉ́mʉ̱-'ura-'uru máa-y-'uru tʉ̱su'a-pʉ̱ 'uni-kya-tʉ̱ 'ura-'ay"
2s/s-be-that that-G-that feel-NOM do-ANT-NOM be-IMM
"it is because of *that one's* mental power that you did it"

'áy-pʉga-s-'ura; 'únigunị̱-'ura-'uru 'uwa-vaa-yukhwị̱ wʉnʉ-pʉga-sapa̱
say-REM-C-be sudden-be-that 3s/O-at-sit stand-REM-MOD
he told him; and lo–just next to Jesus there was a Blackman standing,

túu-nighichị̱, mugwi-kya-tʉ̱, káavʉysi-pani, máa-pani 'ara-tʉ-mʉ̱,
black-negro hooked.nose-have-NOM cowboy-like that-like be-NOM-AN
hook-nosed, like a cowboy, he was like that

'avatʉ káachoghopʉ-ga-tʉ̱, táa'napʉ-ga-tʉ̱, 'átʉ 'ini-aagha-tʉ̱, 'átʉ
big/O hat-have-NOM spur-have-NOM good/O POSS-have-NOM good/O
with a big hat, and spurs, with fine clothes, and

karʉ-'napʉ-ga-tʉ̱; 'ú-'ura puku-'u ká-'áa-rʉ pʉ'i-'á-tʉ̱
sit-INSTR-have-NOM that/s-be horse-3s NEG-gentle-ADJ/O eye-have/NEG-NOM
a fine saddle; and his horse had fierce eyes,

'ura-pʉga, túu-khwa-rʉ-mʉ̱-'ura 'ura-pʉga 'ú-'u.
be-REM red-have-ADJ-AN-be be-REM that/s-3s
it was a black (horse).

ˈúniguni-ˈura tiavʉrʉ ˈura-pʉga, ˈú ˈura-pʉga; ˈuwas-ˈura
sudden-be Devil/s be-REM that/s be-REM 3s/s-be
And lo, it was the Devil, it was him; the Young Man was

pʉni-wʉnʉ-pʉga; máa-y-ˈuru tʉsuˈa-paa tachi-av kukwi-vaa-qha-tʉ
look-stand-REM that-G-that feel-DIR head-OWN shoot-IRR-ANT-NOM
standing and watching; it was because of *that one's* mental power that he was

ˈura-ˈay; ˈáy-púay-agha-ˈura-ˈuru [Jesus ˈu].
be-IMM say-REM-CL-be-that Jesus/s the/s
going to shoot himself in the head; that's what Jesus had told him.

ˈuwas-ˈura sʉriˈa-pʉga, ˈuwa-vaa-chʉ pʉnikya-y,
3s/s-be fear-REM 3s/O-at-DIR see-IMM
Now the Young Man was frightened, looking at the Devil,

pʉni-ti-pʉay-aghay-ˈu [Jesus ˈu]; ˈú-vway-aqh-unuv: "nʉ́-ˈura ˈʉmʉy
see-CAUS-REM-CL-3s Jesus/s the/s there-at-it-TOP 1s/s-be 2s/O
Jesus had shown the Devil to him; then Jesus said: "I'm the one

taqo-vaya-khi-kya-tʉ-ˈuru múupʉchi-gya-y-ˈuru, ˈʉmʉy-aa-chʉ
ward.off-side-???-ANT-NOM-be owl-be-IMM-that 2s/O-O-DIR
who stopped you (from killing yourself) being (like) the owl,

yagha-pʉga-tʉ ˈura-ˈay, nʉ́[-ˈura] mʉi-kʉ-paghay-kya-tʉ-mʉ"
cry-REM-NOM be-IMM 1s/s-be lead-BEN-walk-ANT-NOM-2s
the one who hooted to you, I was the one who led you around"

ˈáy-pʉay-agha-s-ˈura; ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura-ˈuru "ˈʉʉ" ˈáy-pʉga-ˈura ˈuwas,
say-REM-CL-C-be there-at-it-be-that yes say-REM-be 3s/s
he said; then (the Young Man said): "Yes" he said,

"nʉ́-gʉ-s-ˈura tʉvʉchi nasóˈta-kway-gya-ˈuru ˈuni-ˈwa-khwa-tʉ ˈura-ˈay"
1s-EM-C-be very lonely-go-PAR-that do-??-go-NOM be-IMM
"I was feeling very lonely (when) doing it"

máy-pʉga-ˈura ˈuwas, "ˈuni-kya-tʉ ˈara-ˈay" máy-pʉay-aghay-ˈu,
say-REM-be 3s/s do-ANT-NOM be-IMM say-REM-CL-3s
he said, "(that' why) I did it" he told Jesus,

ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwas núuchi.
say-REM 3s/s Ute/s
the Ute man did.

[ˈuwas-ˈura]: "ˈʉmʉy-aa-nʉ-s máy-vaa-ni" ˈáy-pʉay-aghay-ˈura,
3s/s-be 2s/O-O-1s-C say-IRR-FUT say-REM-CL-be
So Jesus said: "I will now tell you" he said,

“ʼʉmʉy-ʼuru… ʼʉmʉy-gya “nasʊtʼa-khwa-y” máy-kya-nu̲-uk ʼʉmʉ[y]”
2s/o-that 2s/o-top lonely-go-imm say-ant-rel-it 2s/g
“you… you… “I’ve gotten lonely” is what you said”

ʼáy-pʉga; “nʊ́-ʼura pʉni-ti-paa-ni̲-amʉ̲ ʼumʉ
say-rem 1s/s-be see-caus-irr-fut-3p 3p/o
he said, “now I will show them to you, those

pʊ́a-u-mʉ̲ ʼúmʉ̲ miya-ʼni-chi-mʉ̲ ʼura-ʼay; pavichi-mʉ̲”
kin-pl-2s the/s go/pl-int-nom-pl be-imm oldr.bro-2s
kinfolk of yours who are still alive; your older brother”

máy-pʉga-ʼura, “ʼiya-na-ʼu-s wʉnʉ̲-i” máy-pʉga,
say-rem-be here-loc-3s-c stand-imm say-rem
he said, “here he is standing” he said,

“chi̲ka-khwa-qhay-kʉ-n” máy-pʉga-ʼura.
fetch-go-ant-em-1s say-rem-be
“I have brought him along to you” he said.

ʼúniguni ʼuwa-vaa-yukhwi̲ wʉnʉ-ka-pʉga-sapa̲ núuchi̲, pavichi-ʼu;
sudden 3sw/o-at-sit stand-ant-rem-mod person/s oldr.bro-3s
And lo, right near him was a person standing, his older brother;

ʼuwa-vaa-chʉ pʉni-wʉnʉ-pʉga ʼuwas; “ʼʉʉ” máy-pʉga [Jesus ʼu],
3s/o-at-dir see-stand-rem 3s/s yes say-rem Jesus/s the/s
so the Young Man stood there looking at him (his older brother); “Yes”

“ʼʊ́mʉ̲-aa pu̲chuchugwa-y-ʼa?” ʼáy-pʉay-agha-s-ʼura; “ʼʉʉ, ʼú
2s/s-q know-imm-3s say-rem-cl-c-be yes that/s
said Jesus, “Do you recognize him?” he asked him; “Yes, that one is my

pavichi-n” ʼáy-pʉay-agha-s-ʼura, “ʼuru wíitʉs ʼʉvʉsa̲-kwa-pʉga-s”; “kách”
oldr.bro-1s say-rem-cl-c-be that past end-go-rem-c neg
older brother” said the Young Man, “it is long ago that he has perished”; “No”

máy-pʉay-agha-s-ʼu, “kach ʼʉvʉsa̲-pʉa-tʉ̲, pagha-ʼni-chi̲-ʼu,
say-rem-cl-c-3s neg end-rem/neg-nom go-int-nom-3s
said Jesus, “he is not dead, he is still alive,

tugu-paya-payaa-va, tʉvʉpʉ ma-vaa-na̲” máy-pʉga; “ʼu-vwaa pagha-ʼni-chi̲
up-side-side-at earth/o there-at-loc say-rem there-at go-int-nom
up in Heaven, above the earth” he said; “he is alive

ʼura-ʼay, ʼavaʼna̲-tʉ-mʉ̲ núuchi-u[-wa]” máy-pʉay-agha-s-ʼu-ʼura,
be-imm many-nom-pl Ute-pl-with say-rem-cl-c-3s-be
there, with many (other) Utes” he told him,

máy-pʉgay-agha-s-ˈu.
say-REM-CL-C-3s
he told him.

ˈú-vway-aqh-ʉs-ˈura: "ˈʉʉ" máy-pʉga-s, "navas ˈʉmʉy máas
there-at-it-C-be yes say-REM-C just 2s/O 3s/s
Then (Jesus said): "Yes" he said, "he has (come to)

pʉnikyay-gya-y, ˈʉmʉy-ˈuru nasʊtˈa-khwa[-qhay]-kʉ̲,
see-PAR-IMM 2s/G-that lonely-go-ANT-SUB
see you because you've been lonely,

máy-kya-mʉ̲-ˈuru; ˈáavʉ̲-ˈura máas pʉchuchugwa-y ˈuru ˈʉmʉy
say-ANT-2s-that now-be 3s/s know-IMM thsat 2s/G
that's what I'm telling you; now he knows where you live"

pʉ́-paa pagha-ˈni-na[-y]" ˈáy-pʉga-ˈura; kh-ˈura: "ˈʉʉ" ˈáy-pʉga ˈuwas,
REL-LOC go-INT-REL-O say-REM-be then-be yes say-REM 3s/s
he said; so (the Young Man said): "Yes" he said,

"toghoy-núgway" ˈáy-pʉga.
good-TOP say-REM
"it is good" he said.

ˈuwas-ˈura [Jesus ˈu]: "ˈáavʉ-n pʉsariniya-khwa-vaa-ni"
3s/s-be Jesus/s the/s now-1s story.tell-go-IRR-FUT
Then Jesus (said): "I will now tell you the story" he said,

máy-pʉga, "ˈichay tʉvʉpʉ ma-vaa-agha-tʉ̲, púupa ˈura-vaa-nʉ̲"
say-REM this/G country/G there-at-have-NOM way be-IRR-REL
"of how this country here will be (in the future)"

máy-pʉga; "ˈáavʉ-nʉ-s nʉ́ˈ… ˈáavʉ-nʉ-s-ukh núu-agha
say-REM now-1s-C 1s/s now-1s-C-it person-have
he said; "Now I… Now this whole country is full of Indians;

manú-khʉ̲-tʉ tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-nʉ̲; mani-kwa-u-paa-ni mʉrʉkachi-u"
all-O-NOM-O country-at-LOC do.like-go-INC-IRR-FUT Whiteman-PL
but just like that (in the future it will be full of) Whitemen"

máy-pʉga-ˈura; "manu-khʉ̲-tʉ wáygha-vaa-sʉ-ni, na-naagha-ni
say-REM-be all-O-NOM/O speak/PL-IRR-C-FUT RED-some-like
he said; "and they will speak all languages, and will be of all

ˈura-vaa-ni" máy-pʉga-ˈura, pʉsariniya-kʉ-ghay-ˈura; "ˈímʉ̲
be-IRR-FUT say-REM-be story.tell-BEN-PAR-be these/s
kinds" he said, telling him the story (of the future); "And these

churchi-kya-mi-tʉ-mʉ, manu-khʉ-tʉ[-mʉ]-s, manu-khʉ-tʉ[-mʉ]-s
church-PL-HAB-NOM-PL all-O-NOM-PL-C all-O-NOM-PL-C
congregations, all of them, there will be many of them,

'ura-vaa-tʉ, na-naagha-ni nía-ti-kya-tʉ churchi-kya-tʉ-mʉ…
be-IRR-NOM RED-some-like name-CAUS-ANT-NOM/O church-PL-NOM-PL
all kinds of congregations…

churchi-kya-mi-tʉ-mʉ" 'áy-pʉga-'ura; "níaa-gha-vaa-tʉ 'ura-'ay,
church-PL-HAB-NOM-PL say-REM-be name-have-IRR-NOM be-IMM
church-goers" he said; "there'll be (different) names,

churchi-kya-tʉ-mʉ-'uru" 'áy-pʉga; "'imʉ-gaa-ni núuchi-u,
church-PL-NOM-PL say-REM these-EM-like Indian-PL
those congregations" he said; "And these Indians,

núu-mʉ-aagha, núuchi-u, 'íi-pani tʉga-khwa-kwa-vaa-tʉ
Indian-PL-have Indian-PL here-like become-go-ANT-IRR-NOM
the ones here now, the Indians, they will become

'ura-yi-s 'ichay".
be-IMM-C this/O
just like that too".

"'iya-nʉ-ʉs wʉnʉ-i 'ína nasʊt'a-kwa-na-mʉ" 'áy-pʉga-'ura;
here-LOC-C stand-IMM this/s lonely–go-REL-2s say-REM-be
"Now here he is standing, the one you were lonely for" Jesus continued;

"'ʉ́mʉ-aa 'ara-'ay? 'imʉ-gʉ-s núuchi-u 'ara-'ay, kách… nʉka-wa-tʉ-mʉ
2s/S-Q be-IMM these-TOP-C Indian-PL be-IMM NEG hear-NEG-NOM-PL
"Now what will become of you now? And of these Indians? They don't…

'ara-'ay" 'áy-pʉga-s-'ura; "'úrʉ… 'ʉmʉy-gʉ-s… 'ʉmʉy-kʉ-nʉ-mʉ
be-IMM say-REM-C-be that you/O-TOP-C you/O-EM-1s-2s
understand (about all this)" he said; "so… you… I will tell you about

máy-vaa-tʉ-ni 'ara-'ay" máy-pʉga-'ura, "núuchi-u púupa
say-IRR-NOM-FUT be-IMM say-REM-be Indian-PL way
it now" he said, "the way the Indians

'uni-kya-paa-nʉ; payʉri tʉka-qha-paa-nʉ-amʉ, tagu-nhka-vaa-nʉ-amʉ;
do-PL-IRR-REL peyote/O eat-PL-IRR-FUR-3p power-dance/PL-IRR-FUT-3p
will do it (worship); they will either eat peyote, or they will Sundance;

'ichay-'ura 'agha-'ara 'ásti'i?"[3]
this/O-BE WH/O-be want/IMM
of these two which one do you want?"

"tagu-nhka-pi… 'ú-ra-nʉ-s nʉ́' 'ásti'i" máy-pʉga 'uwas,
power-dand/PL-NOM/O that-be-1s-s 1s/s want/IMM say-REM 3s/s
"The Sundance… that's the one I want" said the Young Man,

"'uru tagu-nhka-pi; nʉ́nay pʉ́a-[-u-]n ka-'ipʉ-a-sapa
that/O power-dance/PL-NOM/O 1s/G kin-PL-1s NEG-WH-O-MOD
"that Sundance; my kin don't practice anything

'uni-kya-wa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-'ay 'áy-pʉga, "ka-tagu-nhka-wa-tʉ-mʉ;
do-PL-NEG-NOM-PL be-IMM say-REM NEG-power-dance/PL-NEG-NOM-PL
(like) it now" he said, "they don't Sundance;

máy-na-mʉ 'uru ká-'uni-kya-wa-tʉ-mʉ; 'ú-ra-nʉ-s 'uru nʉ́'
say-REL-2s the/O NEG-do-PL-NOM-PL that-be-1s-C the/O 1s/s
what you mentioned they don't do any (of it); so that's the one

'uni-vaa-ni" 'áy-pʉga-'ura.
do-IRR-FUT say-REM-be
I will do" he said.

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3. Here Mrs. Cloud attributes to Jesus the old split between the Peyote practice (Native American Church) and the Medicine-Power-Dance practice (*tagu-nhka-pʉ*; *tagu-wʉni*), implying that the two practices were exclusive of each other. The facts are a bit more complex. The religious splits Mrs. Cloud alludes to has been an old bone of contention in So. Ute, where *both* factions have been sharing the Sundance for decades. The Sundance and Peyote came to So. Ute at about the same time, in the late 1800s, with the split eventually pitting Edwin Cloud, the first So. Ute Sundance Chief, against his brother Isaac Cloud, who headed the Peyote group after Chief Buckskin Charlie. Edward Box, Sr., who revived the Sundance in the early 1950s with members of the Cloud family, maintained Edwin Cloud's position of de-legitimizing the Peyote practice. To this day, the two factions join in the Sundance but hold separate Sweat-Lodge ceremonies. Both recognize *Sinawavi* as The Creator (*núu-maroghoma-pʉga-tʉ*) as well as Jesus Christ. Stewart (1948) suggests that the Peyote practice may have come to So. Ute even earlier, during the *Moghwachi* band's residence near Taos, N.M. and before its 1875 removal to the Pine River. Others suggest that Buckskin Charlie, Chief of the the *Moghwachi* band, brought the Peyote practice back with him from Oklahoma, where he was visiting the Comanche Chief Qwanah Parker.

"nʉ́-kʉ… 'ʉʉ" 'áy-pʉga-'ura 'uwas, "'ʉmʉy-kʉ ta'wavi-gya-vaa-ni;
1s-EM yes say-REM-be 3s/s 2s-EM chief-be-IRR-FUT
"Well I… alright" said Jesus, "you will be the (Sundance) Chief then;

manu-khu̲-tʉ̲-a-s-'ura nʉ́' 'ʉmʉy-rugwa-paa-ni 'uru pʉ́-aa-m
all-O-NOM-G-C-be 1s/s 2s/O-give-IRR-FUT that/O REL-O-with
and I will give you all the things to do it with,

'uni-vaa-na̲, 'ini-wʉnʉ-vaa-na̲, 'ini-kya-vaa-na̲" 'áy-pʉga-'ura…
do-IRR-REL do-stand-IRR-REL do-PL-IRR-REL say-REM-be
the things to stand with, the things to do it with" he said…

'áy-pʉga kh-'ura-'uru…
say-REM then-be-that
he said then…

'uwas-'ura-'uru "'ʉʉ" 'áy-pʉga; 'ú-ra-nʉgwa̲ 'uru 'uni-pʉga 'uwas,
3s/s-be-that yes say-REM that-be-TOP the/O do-REM 3s/s
So the Young Man said "yes"; and that's exactly what he did,

practice-pʉgay-ku̲-'uru pina-racha̲; navas-'uru 'uni-kya-qhay-ku̲
practice-REM-SUB-that follow-summer just-that do-PL-ANT-SUB
when he practiced (the Sundance) the following summer; when they just did it

practice-kya-pʉga, ká-'ava'na-pʉa-agha-y.
practice-PL-REM NEG-many-REM/NEG-CL-??
for practice, there were only few of them.

pina-racha̲-'ura-'uru tʉvʉchi̲ 'avatʉ̲ 'ura-vaa-ni-ukh 'úru̲ 'ura-pʉga,
follow-summer-be-that very big be-IRR-FUT-it that/s be-REM
The following summer it was supposed to be much bigger,

'ava'na̲-amʉ̲-'uru [púupa] 'uni-kya-paa-na̲; 'úmʉ̲ kh-'ura
many-3p-that was do-PL-IRR-REL 3p/s then-be
the way many more of them were to do it; the Sundancers

tagu-wi'i-kya-tʉ-mʉ̲ togho-na-ra-tʉ̲-aa-s 'uni-agha-vaa-tʉ-mʉ̲
power-dance-PL-NOM-PL right-REC-be-NOM-G-C POSS-have-IRR-NOM-PL
were to be all dressed in the same kind of dresses; the Young Man too

'ura-pʉga-vachi̲; 'uwas-'ura 'uni-agha-pʉgay-kʉ̲, 'ivi-yukwi̲
be-REM-BG 3s/s-be POSS-have-REM-it eagle.whistle
was to have the same (kind of) dress, (with) eagle-whistles and

manu-khu̲-tʉ̲-aa papʉ'ni… púupa-amʉ̲-'uru… 'uni-kya-vaa-na̲…
all-O-NOM-O drum way-3p-that do-PL-IRR-REL
all the drums… the way they… were supposed to do it…

máy-pʉga-nạ-'uru 'uwas; togho-sapạ-'ura 'uwas 'uni-pʉga-vachị-ukh,
say-REM-REL-that 3s/s right-MOD-that 3s/s d-REM-BG-it
(the way) Jesus had told him; that's why the Young Man did it (that way),

'ú-raa practice-kyay-khụ-amʉ-'uru, káa-qha-pʉga.
that-be practive-PL-SUB-3p-that sing-PL-REM
when they practiced that way, they (also) sang.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'uni-kya-maku-kway-kụ-amʉ, 'uwas… 'uwas…
there-at-it-be-that do-PL-finish-ANT-SUB-3p 3s/s 3s/s
After having finished their practice, he… he…

núuchị 'u tʉ'a-yagha-rʉ 'i-na-kwạ-khwa-pʉga, 'uru
Indian the/s envy-cry-ADJ here-LOC-go-ANT-REM that/O
one Indian was envious there, with his

káachoghopʉ-m-av-'uru… 'ivichi 'uru súu-tʉ-aa-s
hat/O-with-OWN-that pole/O the/O strong-NOM-O-C
(big) hat on… and the center pole of the corral

'ura-pʉga-vachị, súu-pa'a-toghwa-tʉ; 'ú-mạ-'ura-'uru
be-REM-BG strong-very-long-NOM there-LOC-be-that
was very strong, it was very tall; so right up there

káachoghopʉ-av 'uwa-pʉga-vachị practice-kya-khay-kụ-amʉ;
hat/O-OWN hang-REM-BG practice-PL-ANT-SUN-3p
(on the pole) he hung his hat when they were practicing;

'ú-'ura-'uru 'ʉnʉpʉ tʉgaay-pʉga pina-khwạ-'uru,
that/s-be-that mad become-REM follow-go-that
then he became mad afterwards (for his disrespect),

qhạqhaarʉ-pʉga; 'úniguni-'ura-'uru, kani-'u…
run-REM sudden-be-that house/-3s
and he ran away; and lo, his house…

káachoghopʉ-naaghạ 'uru 'ʊa-tapʉ'na-qha-tʉ wachʉ-ka-tʉ
hat/O-in the/O yellow-bundle-PASS-NOM put-PASS-NOM
inside his hat there was a yellow bundle (of bad medicine)

'ura-pʉga; 'ú-'u máy-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uni-wh-pʉga,
be-REM 3s/s-3s/s say-be-that 3s/s-that do-??-REM
placed in there; it was he who put it there,

tʉ'a-yagha-'apaghạ-pʉga-'ura, ká-'áy-wa-tʉ-mʉ 'u, 'ú
envy-cry-talk-REM-be NEG-good-NEG-NOM-AN that/s that/s
he spoke jealous, he was no good, he did it

'uni-pʉga… 'ʉnʉpʉ tʉgaay-pʉga.[4]
do-REM mad/O become-REM
(badmouth the Sundance)… so he went mad.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru… 'ú-'uwayas-kway 'áy-pʉay-agha-s-'u
there-at-it-be-that 3s/s-that RED-3s/O-MOD say-REM-CL-C-3s
So then the Young Man… Jesus had earlier told him:

[Jesus 'u]: "'uru… kachʉ-mʉ-'uru…" tʉ'a-yagha-qha-pʉay-agha
Jesus/s the/s that/O NEG-2s-that envy-cry-PL-REM-CL
"that… don't…" (some of the people) were bad-mouthing

'uwa-vaa-chʉ 'uru 'uni-kyay-kʉ, 'úrʉ-'u kh-'ura-s-'uru…
3s/O-at-DIR that/O do-ANT-SUB that/s-3s then-be-C-that
the Young man when he was practicing (the Sundance), that then…

'ú-'uni-kyay-kʉ-kʉ-'uru, 'úmʉ núu-a-u-aghʌ ka-'atʉ wáygya-wa-kway;
RED-do-ANT-EM-SUB-that 3s/s person-G-PL-have NEG-well speak/PL-NEG-MOD
when he kept practicing it, those people there (in the crowd) bad-mouthed him;

pina-kwʌ-'uru: "kách-amʉ 'átʉ-wáygya-wa-khʉ-'uru, 'umʉ
follow-go-that NEG-3p well-speak/PL-NEG-SUB-that those/O
so later on (Jesus told him): "When they bad-mouth you,

núu-a-u-aghʌ, nʉ́' 'ʉmʉy kʉʉ-vi-u-vaa-sʉ-ni 'áavʉ-s"
person-O-PL-have 1s/s 2s/O take-NOM-INC-IRR-C-FUT NOW-C
those persons, I myself will take you now"

máy-pʉga-s-kway 'uru… "'uru practice-kyay-ku-mʉ-'uru,
say-REM-C-MOD-that that/O practice-ANT-SUB-2s-that
he told him… "When you practice it,

kʉʉ-vi-u-vaa-sʉ-ni-mʉ-'uru, kachʉ-mʉ 'átʉ-wayghya-wa-kʉ,
take-NOM-INC-IRR-C-FUT-2s-that NEG-2s well-speak/PL-NEG-SUB
I will take you away, if they bad-mouth you,

'umʉ núu-a-u-aghʌ…"
those/O person-G-PL-have
those crowd…"[5]

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4. The theme of hiding Bad Medicine ('*ʉvʉ-puwa-vʉ*) in strategic places in order to hurt the intended person is a recurrent theme in the Ute oral tradition, as is the '*ʉvʉ-puwa-gha-tʉ*, the Bad-Medicine-Man.

5. Bad-mouthing people and its effect, on both the intended victim and the perpetrator, is another old theme, see (20) above.

'uwas-'ura 'úu-pani-'uru 'uwas-'uru 'uni-kyay-kᵘ-'u,
3s/s-be there-like-that 3s/s-that do-ANT-SUB-3s
When the young man practiced like that,

ka-'átʉ-wáygya-pʉa; wíitʉs-ukh máy-pʉay-agha 'uwa-rukhwᵃ
NEG-well-speak/PL-REM/NEG past-it say-REM-CL 3s/O-go
there were people who bad-mouthed him;

[Jesus 'u]; 'ú-vway-aqh-unuv-'uru 'uwas-'ura… 'ava'nᵃ-tʉ-'ura
Jesus/s the/s there-at-it-TOP-that 3s/s-be many-NOM-be
Jesus told him about it long before; then he… he had told him

'uru-'ay máy-pʉgay-'u…
that-IMM say-REM-3s
many other things too…

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'ichay súu-kʉs tacha-ta… pina-ravay…
there-at-it-be 3s/s-that this/O one-O summer-NOM follow-day
Well then the Young Man one summer… the following day…

pina-tacha-khᵘ 'ura-vaa-qhay-kᵘ-'uru, 'u-vway-a-na-kwa-s 'uwas
follow-summer-SUB be-IRR-ANT-SUB-that there-at-G-LOC-go-s 3s/s
the following summer when (the Sundance) was supposed to take place,

ya'ay-kwa-pʉga; 'ʉ́ʉ… núuchᵢ 'u, tʉ'a-yagha-qhay-kᵘ-amʉ-'uru;
die-go-REM INTJ person/s the/s envy-cry-PL-SUB-that
the Young man died; 'ʉ́ʉ… that Ute man, when they bad-mouthed him;

'umʉs-'ura pa'a-manu-ni-'uru 'uni-'wa-kᵘ-'uru, pa'a-manu-ni
3p/s-be very-all-s-that do-??-it-that very-all-s
there were many of them doing it (dancing), there were

togho-na'a-pʉ-sʉ-ni dressᵢ-kya-vaa-pʉga-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-vachi-mʉ; 'ú-'ura
right-pretty-NOM-C-like dress-PL-IRR-REM-NOM-PL be-BG-PL that/s-be
many dressed up in their fine clothes; there was that

mamachᵢ máa 'ú-naaghᵃ núu-agha-vaa-pʉga-tʉ, wá-ini mamachi-u;
woman/s that/s there-in person-have-IRR-REM-NOM two-s woman-PL
woman in there where it was crowded, two women; they were supposed to

nani-gúaa-va-amʉ karʉ-vwaa-tʉ-mʉ; kach-umʉ wʉnʉ-vwaa-wᵃ-tʉ-mʉ,
REC-edge-AT-3p sit-IRR-NOM-PL NEG-3p stand-IRR-NEG-NOM-PL
sit across (from the Dancers); they were not supposed to dance,

karʉ-vwaa-tʉ-mʉ; máy-'uru 'ura-pʉga, tʉri'aaw…
sit-IRR-NOM-PL say-that be-REM suddenly
only to sit; that's the way it was supposed to be…

'ú-vway-aqh-unuv 'uwas-'ura máy-pʉga… 'ú sinawavi tuachi
there-at-it-TOP 3s/s-be say-REM that/s God/G child/s
Well he told him… the Son of God…

'u… "'ú-ra-ʉs 'uni-vaa-ni, máy-kɨ-'ura" máy-kya-'uru;
the/s that-be-C do-IRR-FUT say-IMM-be say-ANT-that
"You should do it just like this, I tell you" he had said;

pa'a-manu-khu-tʉ-aa-s pʉsariniya-pʉga, 'ichay tʉvʉpʉ
very-all-O-NOM-O-C story.tell-REM this/O earth/O
he told him of everything, (the way) this earth over there

ma-vaa-agha-tʉ tʉgay-paa-tʉ, púupa-aqh 'ura-vaa-ni; 'uru
there-at-have-NOM/O become-IRR-NOM way-it be-IRR-FUT that/O
will become, the way it will be; that's what

máy-pʉga: 'úmʉ núuchi-u tʉpʉy-kwa-vaa-tʉ-mʉ, máy-pʉga,
say-REM those/s Indian-PL perish/PL-go-IRR-NOM-PL say-REM
he said:[6] The Indians will perish, he said,

ka-'ava'na-chi-gya-wa-paay-'uru piyaay-khwa-gha, núu-vagha-'ni-chɨ-'u;
NEG-many-NOM-have-NEG-IRR-that remain-go-PAR person-go-INT-NOM-3s
with not many surviving, (as) living person(s);

pʉ́a-y-avʉ-sapa piwa-gha-vaa-tʉ 'ura-'ay, máy-pʉga kh-'ura, 'uru
kin-O-OWN-MOD spouse-have-IRR-NOM be-IMM say-REM then-be that/O
they will have to marry their kin, he said,

ka-núu-'wa-tʉ tʉgay-kwa-gha, 'áy-pʉga kh-'ura.
NEG-person-have/NEG-NOM become-go-PAR say-REM then-be
because of there being so few of them, he said.

'úu-pa-'ura 'ura-'ay 'aavʉ, 'úru púupa máy-pʉ, 'umʉas
there-DIR-be be-IMM now that/s way say-NOM 3p/G
That is the way it is now, the way Jesus predicted, when the

mʉrʉkachi-u 'ava'na tʉgay-kya-qhay-ku-amʉ-'uru; mámʉ-'ura-'uru
Whitemen-PL many become-PL-ANT-SUB-3p-that 3p/s-be-that
Whitemen have become so numerous; they all go to their

churchi-vaa-tukhwa-'uru, nawa-chukhwa wáygya-vaa-tʉ-mʉ
church/O-at-go-that REC-go speak/PL-IRR-NOM-PL
churches, and (as Jesus said) they would be arguing with each other,

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6. The following prophesy, attributed here to Jesus, echoes the apocalyptic end of the Ute Creation story (1), (2).

'ura-pʉga-s-'uru, manu-khu̲-tʉ churchi-a-s 'uru; máy-kʉ-kha[y-'u];
be-REM-C-that all-O-NOM/O church/O-O-C the/O say-BEN-ANT-3s
with all those churches; that's what Jesus had told him;

mámʉ̲-'ura-'uru… 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲-'ura churchi-vaa-tukhwa̲[-av]
3p/S-be-that there-at-go-be church/O-at-go-OWN
those guys… right there in their churches they would

nana-kukwi-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲-mʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga-s; 'úu-pa-'ura tʉgaay 'áavʉ̲,
REC-shoot-go-IRR-NOM-PL be-REM-C there-DIR-be become/IMM now
be shooting each other; that's the way it's happening now,

máy-pʉgay-'u, máy-pʉ-'a-'uru 'uway Jesus-i…
say-REM-3s say-NOM-3s-that 3s/G Jesus-G
he told him, what Jesus said…

> nʉ́' ma-vaa-tʉ sumay-kyarʉ-rʉ̲ 'ura-'ay, 'úru̲-['uru]
> 1s/S there-at-DIR think-sit-ADJ be-IMM that/S-that/O
> I myself often sit thinking about this,

pu̲chuchugwa-gha, tʉsu'a-'ni-chi̲ 'ura-'ay, 'u-vwaa-tʉ;
know-PAR feel-INT-NOM be-IMM there-at-DIR
knowing all that, I keep thinking, about it;

'úru̲-'uru pu̲chuchugwa-gha…
that/S-that/O know-PAR
knowing all that…

> kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru manu-khu̲-tʉ̲-a-s máy-pʉga-s, 'ichay
> then-be 3s/S-that all-O-NOM-O-C say-REM-C this/O
> So Jesus told the Young Man everything, (about) all

tʉvʉpʉ-vwa-aagha-tʉ; 'úru̲-'uru 'ura-yi-s púupa tʉgaay-paghay[-na̲];
earth/O-at-have-NOM/O that/S-that be-IMM-C way become-walk-REL
that is on this earth; that's the way it is becoming;

'umʉ núuchi-u pa'ay-pʉay[-amʉ̲] kwaya-tukhwa̲; 'úru̲
3p/O Indian-PL call-REM-3p across-go that/S
they even called up the Indians (to serve) on the other side (of the ocean);

'úu-pa tʉgay…
there-DIR become/IMM
that's the way it has become…

> wíitʉs… 'úu-pa 'ura-'u… wíitʉs páas-'uru̲, 'icha̲ súuva-tʉ-ni
> past there-DIR be-3s past past-that this/S other-NOM-like
> Long ago… that's the way he was… long ago past, there is (are) another thing(s)

piya-yi-s, máy-pʉ-'u; tʉvʉpʉ 'ícha paqha-khwa-kwa-vaa-tʉ,
remain-IMM-C say-NOM-3s earth/s this/s break-go-ANT-IRR-NOM
things too that Jesus said; this earth would break open,

máy-pʉ-'uru, páa-'ura 'úu-pa chipi-kwa-u-paa-tʉ, máy-pʉ-'uru;
say-NOM-that water-be there-DIR rise-go-INC-IRR-NOM say-NOM-that
he said, and the water would start to rise like that, he said;

'úu-chi-sa-'uru tagu-nhka-paa-amʉ-'uru, 'átʉ kwáa-ti-kyay-kʉ-'uru,
that-NOM-TOP-that power-dance/PL-IRR-3p-that well run-CAUS-PL-SUB-that
unless they do the Sundance, if they run it properly,

'uway súu-kʉ-'uru 'átʉ kwáa-ti-kʉ.
3s/G one-O-that well run-CAUS-SUB
if that one (the Young Man) ran it properly.

> máru-'ura puwavʉ-sapa 'ura-pʉga-vachi, puwa-gha-vaa-na-'u 'uway
> that/s-be power-MOD be-REM-BG power-have-IRR-REL-3s that/G
> That (Sundance) was a strong medicine-power, it is how the

núuchi wʉnʉ-rʉ; 'úru 'úu-pani-amʉ-'uru tʉgay-khwa-kway-kʉ, 'uru
person/G stand-ADJ/G that/s there-like-3s-that become-go-ANT-NOM that/O
(Sundancing) person gets his medicine-power; it is their way of coming

mʊ-mʊ'ʊ-vwaa-sapa-aqh-'uru, mani-tukhwa, taqho-vaya-gha-paa-tʉ
RED-hand-at-MOD-it-that do.like-go ???-side-PL-IRR-NOM
(to Medicine-Power), and with that in their hands, like this (gesture), they

'ura-pʉga-vachi; 'uru 'átʉ 'uni-gway-kʉ-'uru tagu-nhka-pi;
be-REM-BG that/O well do-go-SUB-that power-dance/PL-NOM/O
could ward it off (bad-medicine); that is, if they do the Sundance properly;

máy-pʉ-'u-'ura, tʉ́ʉ-'atʉ-paa-tukhwa 'uni-kyay-kʉ; 'uwas núuchi
say-NOM-3s-be well-good-DIR-go do-PL-SUB 3s/s ute
that is what Jesus said, if they do it real well; that wandering

pagha-'ni-chi 'u puwa-gha-vaa-pʉga-tʉ.
nʉ́'go-INT-NOM/S the/s power-have-IRR-REM-NOM
Ute (Young Man) was to become a Medicine-Man.

> 'áavʉ-'ura nʉ́' ma-vaa-tʉ tʉsu'a-qharʉ-rʉ 'ura-'ay, pa'ayh-togho
> now-be 1s/s that-at-DIR feel-sit-ADJ be-IMM very-right
> Nowadays I sit and think about that, (about how)

'uni-kya-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-'ay, 'úmʉ 'uru 'uni-kya-tʉ-mʉ,
do-PL-NOM-PL be-IMM 3p/s that/O do-PL-NOM-PL
exactly they do it, those who do it,

tagu-nhka-pi 'uni-kya-tʉ-mʉ; pa'a-togho-ni 'urus
power-dance/PL-NOM/O do-PL-NOM-PL very-right-like that/S
(how) they do the Sundance; it should

'ura-tʉ 'ura-'ay.
be-NOM be-IMM
be done right.

'uway-'urʉ máy-pʉ; máy-chi-ni-aqh-'ura nʉ́[nay] 'áavʉ…
3S/G-that say-NOM say-NOM-like-it-be 1S/G now
It is what Jesus said; when I think about it now…

'ava'nʉ-tʉ-ukh-'uru 'ura-'ay, nʉ́nay máy-vaa-nʉ, 'ava'nʉ-tʉ 'ura-'ay
much-NOM-it-that be-IMM 1S/G say-IRR-REL much-NOM be-IMM
there is much more to it, what I am going to say, there was much

máy-pʉay 'úrʉ; ká-pa'ay[-wa]-sapʉ 'ura-'ay, púupa-aqh 'ichay
say-REM that/S NEG-count-NEG-MOD be-IMM way-it this/G
more that Jesus said; there's no end to it, the way this

tʉgay-navichi-nʉ; marʉ máy-pʉga-tʉ 'ura-'ay… 'ura-vachi, 'uwas 'u
become-MASS-REL that/O say-REM-NOM be-IMM be-BG 3S/S the/S
has become; he is the one who said that… it was,

Sinawavi tuachi; 'ava'nʉ-tʉ 'ura-vachi 'urus, nʉ́-'ura
God/G son/S much-NOM/S be-BG that/S 1S/S-be
the Son of God; there is much more to it, I myself

wagha-rukhwʉ-tʉ-aa-s puchuchugwa-y, kach-aqh manu-khu[-tʉ]
part-go-NOM-O-C know-IMM NEG-it all-O-NOM/O
know only part of it, I don't know all of it,

puchuchugwa-wa-y, máy-pʉa[-na]-y kach-ukh sumay-wa,
know-NEG-IMM say-REM-REL-O NEG-it remember-NEG
I don't remember (all of) what he said,

'uru-khu máy[-na]-pʉa-y-'u.
that-it say-REM-REL-O-3S
what he said.

'ura-yi-s-sapʉ-'ura, 'úu-pa tʉgaay-navichi-sapʉ, púupa
be-IMM-C-MODbe there-DIR become-MASS-MOD way
Whatever it was (that Jesus said), that's the way it has become, the way

máy-pʉa[-na]-y-'uru, 'uwayas, nuuchi, máy-pʉ 'ura-'ay, puwa-gha-tʉ;
say-REM-REL-O-that 3S/O Ute/O say-NOM be-IMM power-have-NOM/O
he told it, to him, to that Ute (man), it is what Jesus said, to that Medicine-Man;

máy-kya-nʉ-s 'úru̲-'ʉ, 'ú-'u̲ra-sapa̲-aqh-'uru nʉ́' pu̲chuchugwa-ru̲ʉ
say-ANT-1s-C that/S-EM RED-be-MOD-it-that 1s/s know-ADJ
I have said it, that is what I know,

'ara-'ay, ka-tʉvʉchi 'ava'na̲-tʉ…
be-IMM NEG-very much-NOM/O
not very much…

'uwayas-'ura-'uru máy-pʉay-agha-s, 'uwayas, nuuchi: "'ʉ́mu̲ʉ-'ura-'uru
3s/GE-be-that say-REM-CL-S 3s/GEN Ute/GEN 2s/s-be-that
It was to him (that) Jesus told (it), to him, to the Ute (man): "When you

payu-ghway-khu̲-'uru… payu-ghway-khu̲-'uru… payu-ghway-khu̲-'uru,
return-go-SUB-that return-GO-SUB-that return-go-SUB-that
return… when you return… when you return (home),

súu-kus kava-yi 'ʉmʉ-rugwa-paa-ni" máy-pʉay-agha-s-'uru 'uway-'uru;
one-O horse-O 2s/O-give-IRR-FUT say-REM-CL-C-that 3s/O-that
I will give you one horse" he told him;

'ú-vwa-aqh-'ura 'uwas-'uru payu-khwa-pʉga-s, kani-vaa-chawi̲-av…
there-at-it-be 3s/S-that return-go-REM-C house-at-come-OWN
so then the Young Man went back, to his house… (Jesus had told him):

"whchu-paa-tʉ-mu̲ʉ-'uru 'ura-vachi̲ 'ú kava" máy-pʉga-s-'ura,
catch.up-IRR-NOM-2s-that be-BG that/s horse/s say-REM-S-be
"That horse will catch up with you" he said,

"túu-sia-gha-rʉ-mu̲ʉ, míipʉ-vʉchi̲ 'u, ka-tʉvʉchi̲
black-spotted-have-ADJ-AN small-DIM 3s/s NEG-very
"it is black spotted, a tiny one, not very big";

'ava-chi-mu̲ʉ-'a-pu̲ʉ"; 'ura-pʉga-s 'uru̲.
big-NOM-AN-have/NEG-NOM be-REM-C that/s
and that is indeed what happened.

'uwasʉ-ga-'ura kách-'uru, payu-khway-khu̲-'uru kachu-'u
3s/S-TOP-be NEG-that return-go-SUB-that NEG-3s
Well the Young Man didn't, when he returned home he didn't

cha̲'ay-pʉa, 'uwa-vaa-yukhwi̲ whchuwi̲-chaa-ni, páa-chaa-ni,
catch-REM/NEG 3s/O-at-sit four-INC-like three-INC-like
catch that horse, he (tried to get to it) four, three times,

'ú-vway-aqh-'u 'uwas 'úu-pa-s-'u, ma'ay-ti-na-pʉga, 'úu-pa-s 'uwas
then-at-it-3s 3s/s there-DIR-C-3s lost-CAUS-HAB-REM there-DIR-C 3s/s
but the horse took off that-a-way, he kept losing it, it (the horse) kept

yáakwi-na-pʉga; pina-khwa-kway pi-pichʉ[-na-pʉga-s], kach-ukh-'uru
disappear-HAB-REM follow-go-MOD RED-return-HAB-REM-C NEG-it-that
disappeared that-a-way; later it kept coming back, but the

'ipʉ-a-sapa yáa'wa-vɵrɵ-wa, ká-'ipʉ-a-sapa-'a-'ura,
WH-O-MOD carry-go-NEG NEG-WH-O-MOD-have/NEG-be
Young Man didn't carry anything (to catch it with), he didn't have anything,

ka-yatapʉ-a-sapa yáa'wa-vɵrɵ-wa, kachu-'u-'ura 'ú-vway-aqh cha'a-wa;
NEG-twine-O-MOD carry-go-NEG NEG-3s-be there-at-it catch-NEG
he didn't carry any twine with him, so he couldn't catch it;

'áaa… whchuwi-chaa-ni qo-qhoma-na-gha 'uwa-wa, whchu-na-pʉgay-'u
INTJ four-INC-like RED-circle-HAB-PAR 3s/O-with catch.up-HAB-REM-3s
'áaa… four times circling around it, he caught up with it when the horse

'uru payu-khwa-khu-'u, kách-'ura 'uwas-'uru… 'ipʉ-m-sapa-'u
that return-go-SUB-3s NEG-be 3s/s-it WH-with-MOD-3s
came back, but he didn't (have)… anything with

cha'a[-na]-wa'.
catch-REL-NEG
which to catch it.

> 'ú-'u… 'úru-'ura kava 'u… 'ichay tʉvʉpʉ ma-vaagha
> that/s-3s/s that/s-be horse/s the/s this/O land/O there-over
> That one… that was the horse that (the Young Man)

pʉ́-paa-ni karʉ-vɵrɵ-na-qha-na 'ura-vachi, máy-pʉay-aghay-'ura-'uru,
REL-DIR-like sit-go-HAB-ANT-REL be-BG say-REM-CL-be-that
was supposed to ride all over this country, that's what Jesus had told him,

máy-pʉgay-'u 'uwas 'u Sinawavi… Sinawavi tuachi ['u]; 'uwas-'ura
say-REM-3s 3s/s the/s God/s God/G child/s the/s 3s/s-be
God had told him… the Son of God; the Young Man

pʉnikya-pʉgay-'u; payu-khwa-khu-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'uru… 'ú-vway-aqh…
see-REM-3s return-go-SUB-be-that 3s/s-that there-at-it
saw him; now when he returned (home) he… then…

'uwa-tʉ-aa-ni-'ura-'uru… kachu-'u cha'ay-pʉa, togho-khwa-pʉga-'ura
3s/O-NOM-O-like-be-that NEG-3s catch-REM/NEG right-go-REM-be
he was like Jesus… but he didn't catch it (that horse), that horse

'uwas 'u kava, 'úu-pa-s; 'áa-rʉ-vaa-qa-tʉ-'ura 'ura-vachi
3s/s the/s horse/s there-DIR-C gentle-ADJ-IRR-ANT-NOM-be be-BG
ran away, that-a-way; it was supposed to be a gentle one,

'uwas, puku-gwa-y-'uru, 'áy-u-vaa-qha-tʉ̲.
3s/s horse-have-IMM-that good-INC-IRR-ANT-NOM
the horse he had, it was supposed to be a good one

máy-kyarʉ-ni-'ura nʉ́', 'úru̲-'ura-'uru nʉ́nay
say-sit-like-be 1s/s that/S-be-that 1s/O
I sit and think, this is the story

pʉsariniya-qha̲-qa-na-pʉga 'ura-'ay, 'umʉ́as pʉ́a-u-gwapʉ-a-n;
story.tell-PL-ANT-HAB-REM be-IMM 3po/G kin-PL-DEFUN-G-1s
they used to tell me, my long-gone kin;

togho-sapa̲-aqh-'ura nʉ́' pu̲chuchugwa-miya-khu̲, tagu-nhka-paa-tʉ,
right-MOD-it-be 1s/s know-HAB-it power-dance/PL-DIR-DIR
that's why I know it, about how the Sundance,

'anʊ-khu̲ 'ura-na̲…
WH/time-it be-REL
when (how) it used to be…[7]

…'uwas-'ura-'uru… 'uwas-'ura payu-khwa-pʉga-'uru,
3s/s-be-that 3s/s-be return-go-REM-that
…So the young man… he went back home,

pagha-'ni-na-pʉga-s; pina-khwa̲-'ura-'uru ya'ay-kwa-pʉga; 'uwas
go-INT-HAB-REM-C follow-go-be-that die-go-REM 3s/s
and lived for a while; but later he died; he is the

máy-pʉga-tʉ̲-aqh 'ichay tagu-nhka-pi; kachi-s 'uni-'way-aqh,
say-REM-NOM-it this/s power-dance/PL-NOM/O NEG-C do-NEG-it
one who told (the people about) this Sundance; but he didn't do it himself,

tagu-nhka-pi, ya'ay-kwa-pʉga-tʉ̲.
power-dance/PL-NOM/O die-go-REM-NOM
the Sundance, he died (before that).

ya'ay-kwa-qhay-ku̲-'ura-'uru, 'avi-gu̲-'uru,
die-go-ANT-SUB-be-that lie-SUB-that
After he died, while he was lying (in state),

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7. At this point Mrs. Cloud launched into a long critical discussion of how the Sundance was being done currently, focusing on the long-time Sundance Chief, Edward Box, Sr. The Ute Language Committee chose at the time not to include this portion of the text in the original edition (Givón, ed. 1985), a choice I have followed here.

pá-roghoa-wʉnʉ-ti-kya-pʉga, togho-tugu-tukhwa; pa'a-manu-kʉ-tʉ-s
water-snake-stand-CAUS-PASS-REM right-up-go complete-all-O-NOM-C
a rainbow appeared, right above; and all (of his possessions) were there

'ura-pʉga-s, manu-khʉ-tʉ-s 'úrʉ, 'ini-a wʉnʉ-vaa-qha-na-'u, wʉnʉ-rʉ,
be-REM-C all-O-NOM-S that/S WH-O stand-IRR-ANT-REL-3s stand-ADJ/O
(on the funeral pyre), it was all there, whatever (things) he was supposed to

'ura-pʉga-vachi, wʉ-wʉtapʉ-vaa-qha[-na-'u], 'ivi-yukhwi, 'ini-a
be-REM-BG RED-bundle-IRR-ANT-REL-3s stick-sit WH-O
Sundance with, standing, it was the bundles he would have had with him, the

yáa'wa-vaa-qha-na-'u, 'uru 'agha-vaa-chi-sapa-'u; togho-ti-pʉ
carry-IRR-ANT-REL-3s that/O WH-IRR-NOM-MOD-3s right-CAUS-NOM
eagle whistle, whatever he would have carried, whatever else he would

'ura-pʉga-vachi, 'ura-sa táa… pa'a-núuchi 'uwas 'ura-'ay.
be-REM-BG be-TOP INTJ complete-Ute/s 3 s/s be-IMM
have had; it was all there properly, it was… he was a proper Ute.

> máy-kya-na ['uwas]… máy-miya-gha-kʉ nʉ́nay pía-ghapʉ[-n],
> say-ANT-REL 3s/S say-HAB-PAR-EM 1s/G mother-DEFUN-1s
> (This is what) she told me…my late mother used to tell me,

pʉsarinia-qhay-kʉ… máy-kya-nʉ-s 'ura-sapa, pʉ́-paa-tʉ-mana-kway-aqh;
story.tell-ANT-SUB say-ANT-1s-C be-MOD REL-DIR-DIR-leave-go-it
when she would tell me stories… I have told it, where it all comes from;

'uru-sapa-'ura 'uru-'ay, nʉ́nay pʉchugwa-na.
that-MOD-be that-IMM 1s/G know-REL
that's it, what I know.

PART V

Varia

Introduction

In this last section we grouped together texts whose topics are more contemporary. Only the first one (29) is a narrative, depicting a known historical event from ca. 1885, in the early days of the Pine River reservation. It describes what must have been the last raid by a Ute war party, going east over the mountains to Antonito, at the southern end of the San Luis valley, to confront a Comanche – or Cheyenne – war party that was lying in ambush on the banks of the Rio Grande. The story was told by Harry Richards, and is based on an eye-witness account he heard in his youth. In addition to its historical interest, the story reveals much about the Ute warrior tradition and the intensive mutual-raiding relations the Utes maintained on the southeastern, eastern and northeastern peripheries of their vast mountain territory.

The next text (30) is the transcript of a radio program of reservation news, presented by Martha Myore. It is a considerable departure from the traditional old style of the preceding traditional texts, and thus exemplifies another, more contemporary, conversational genre.

The next text (31) is a example of Ute public oratory style, an expository text, spoken by Ralph Cloud during a meeting of the Ute Language Committee. Mr Cloud also contributed the next text (32), reminiscing about family history.

Last but not least, Harvey Natchez from the Uintah-Ouray Ute reservation in Utah contributed another expository text (33), recorded during the first Tri-Ute Language Conference in Ft. Duchesne, UT. Together with Ralph Cloud's expository text (31), this is a fine example of traditional Ute public oratory.

Chart 3. Ute warrior party's approach to the Rocky hill

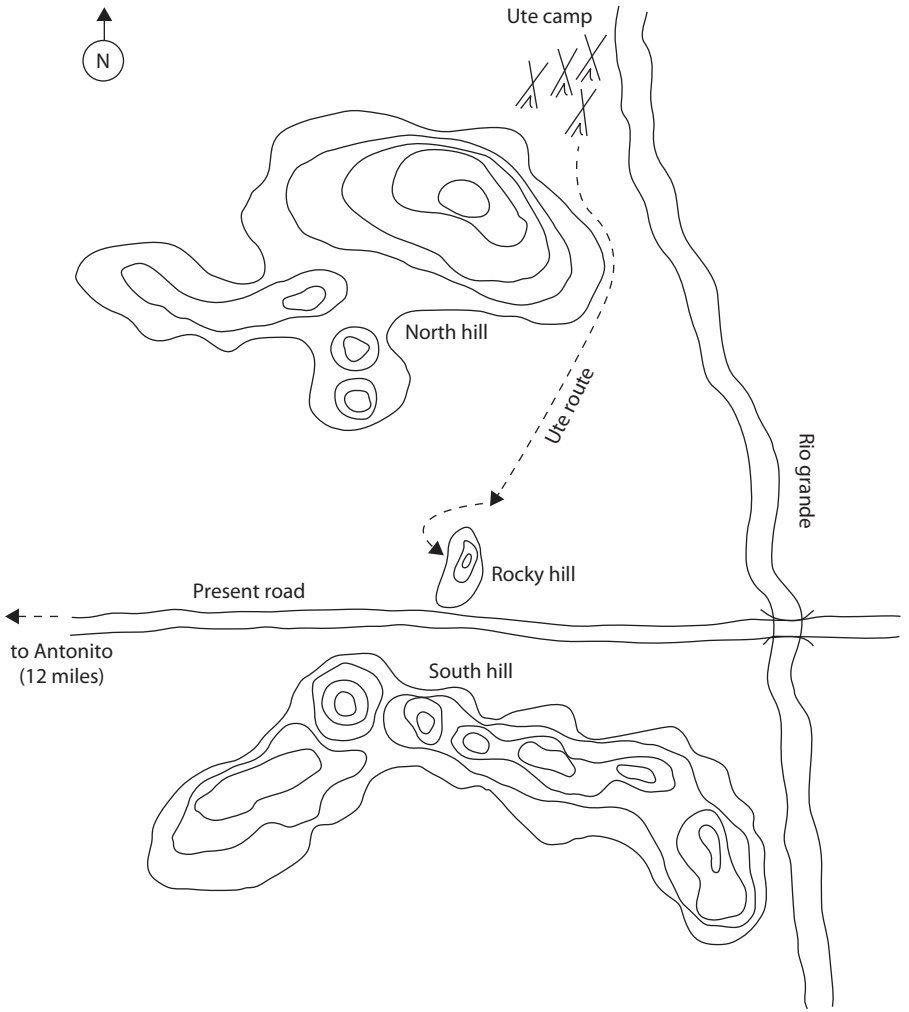
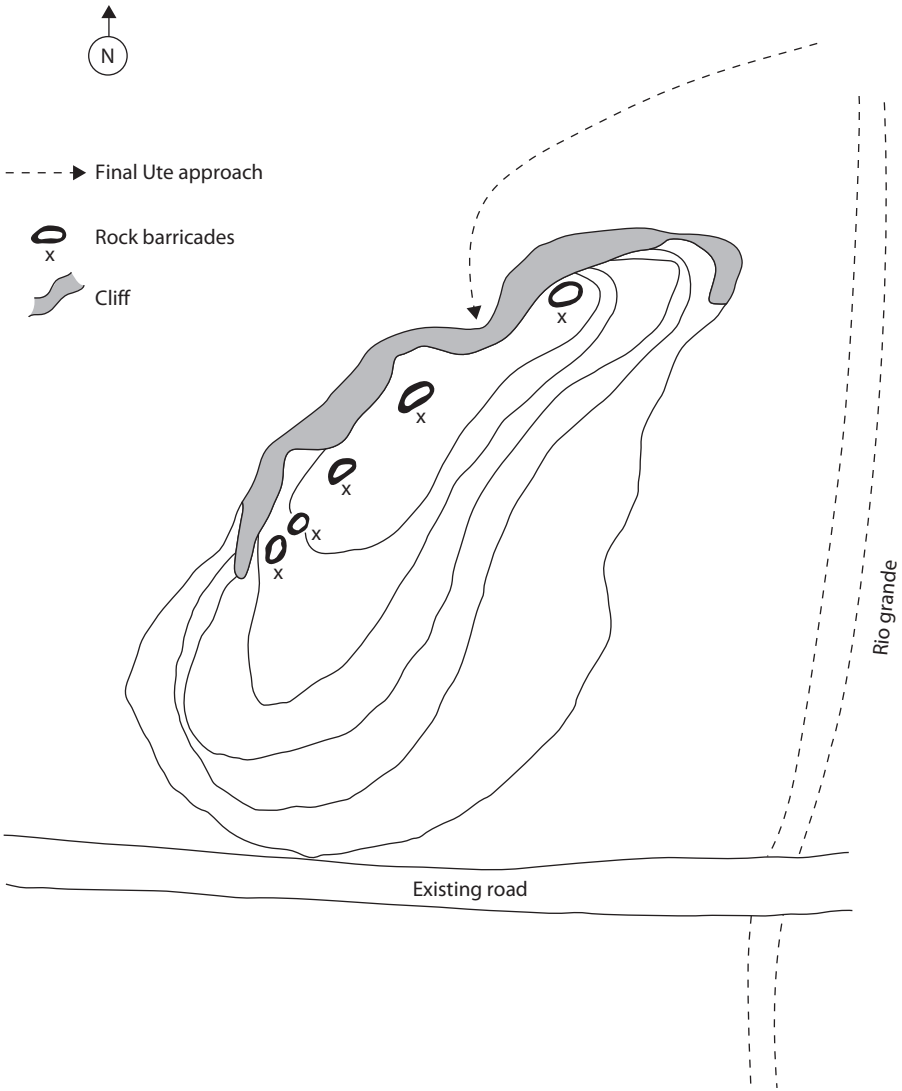


Chart 4. The Rocky hill



TEXT 29

The last war party

told by: Harry Richards
date recorded: 9-1-76
recorded by: Pat Rael
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

pʉ́-paa-y nagukwi-kya-na-pʉ̲, 'agha-rʉ̲-kway níaa-gha-tʉ̲,
REM-DIR-O fight-ANT-REL-NOM WH-NOM-MOD name-have-NOM
The place where they fought, whatever its name,

káa-cha̲'a-y níaa-gha-tʉ̲, tʉvʉpʉ̲ 'úru̲ káa-cha̲'a-y, pətə'ni-chi̲
hill-cach-IMM name-have-NOM country/s that/s hill-catch-IMM mound-NOM/S
Hill-Catch was the name, that country (was) Hill-Catch, it was a

kh-'ura-'ay, karʉ-rʉ̲ pa'a… tʉ́ʉra-va̲, tʉ́ʉra-va̲ pətə'ni-chi̲ wʉga-va̲,
then-be-IMM sit-ADJ compl. out-at out-at mound-NOM hill-at
small hill, sitting completely… out (in the open), a small hill out (in the open),

tʉpʉy-wʉga-va̲, tʉ́ʉra-va̲, ka-ma'a-'a-tʉ̲;
rock-hill-at out-at NEG-bush-have/NEG-MOM
a rocky hill, way out there, bare of vegetation;

mani-tugwa-tukhwa̲-'ura-s 'ava'na̲ 'ura-'ay, 'u-vwaa-tʉ̲
do.like-go-go-be-C many/s be-REM there-at-NOM
but like this on the other side there's lots (of brush), there's

ma'a-agha-tʉ-sapa̲ wʉga-aqh-'uru, mani-tukhwa̲ nava-chukhwa̲
brush-have-DIUR-MOD hill-it-MOD do.like-go REC-go
brush-covered hillside, like this on both sides there are

wá-ini-'ura 'ura-'ay; nari'aa-va-av 'úu-pa kwá márʉ̲ 'i-vee-tʉ̲
two-S-be be-IMM middle-at-OWN there-DIR INTJ that/s here-at-NOM
two (hills); and in the middle between them that (small hill) with

Antonito-vwaa-tʉ, Antonito-vwaa-tʉ-mana-khwa̲-paa-tʉ̲ kwá;
Antonito-at-NOM Antonito-at-DIR-leave-go-DIR-NOM INTJ
Antonito this way, this way going from Antonito;

tava-mawisi-na-kwa-pachi, pá-gúaa-va kwá, Rio-Grande-gúaa-va-tʉ kwá
sun-appear-LOC-go-BG water-edge-at INTJ Rio-Grande-edge-at-NOM INTJ
then to the east, right at the water edge, it is right at the edge of the Rio Grande)

'ú-rʉkwa 'u-vwaa-tʉ 'ura-'ay, pɵtɵ'nichi-'ura 'áa-sʉ-ni karʉ-rʉ,
there-down there-at-DIR be-IMM mound/S-be gentle-C-like sit-ADJ
that way down there, a little hill sitting quietly there,

ma-vaa tʉvwa yúaa-va, nari'aa-va-khwa-'uru 'avatʉ pɵtɵ'nichi 'uru,
there-at down plains-at middle-at-go-that big/O mound/O the/O
right down there in the open country, in the middle between the (two) tall hills,

nari'aa… ma-vaa tʉvwa; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'áa-sʉ-ni
middle there-at down there-at-it-be gentle-C-like
in the middle… down there; well that's where that gentle

tʉʉpʉy-wʉgaa-agha-tʉ 'ura-'ay; 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru nagukwi-kya-pʉga
rock-hill-have-NOM be-IMM there-at-it-that fight-RĒM-ANT-REM
little rocky hill is; that is where those long-gone

wíitʉs-'uru 'úmʉ núuchi-u-gwapʉ.
past-that those/S Ute-PL-DEFUN/S
Utes fought long ago.[1]

'úmʉ núuchi-u 'agha-vaa-sapa kani-gya-pʉga-vachi, ma-vaa tíi
those/S UTE-PL WH-at-MOD house-have-REM-BG there-at high
The Utes had their camp somewhere there, high up there

Alamosa-na-kwa-pʉ, Alamosa tʉvʉpʉ-na-kwa-pʉ 'u-vwaa-s
Alamosa-LOC-go-NOM Alamosa country/O-LOC-go-NOM there-at-C
towards Alamosa, they had their camp up there

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1. During a site visit in August 1982, the following details were pointed out by Mr. Richards (see attached maps):

a. The Utes' camp was 3–4 miles up the Rio Grande, north from the current bridge.
b. The Rocky hill is about 2 miles west of the Rio Grande from the current bridge.
c. The Cheyenne's presence was discovered by accident, when ca. 3:00–4:00pm some Utes went to retrieve a herd of horses that had been picketed near the rocky hill.
d. It may well be that the young Mexican man had never warned the Utes, tho he said he did.
e. The two Cheyenne war-chiefs argued about the best location for the ambush, one pushing for the wooded slope of the tall hill to the north (where the Utes eventually camped), the other and eventual winner pushing for the small rocky hill. He is the one who was later blinded by a thrown rock and killed in the trench; the "we told you so!" later on refers to that argument.

kani-gya-pʉga-vachi-mʉ.
house-have-REM-BG-PL
on the Alamosa side (north-west).

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura mámʉ kʉmachi-u… 'úmʉ, kach… sayaana-u,
there-at-it-be those/s Comanche-PL 3p/s NEG Cheyenne
Then those Comanches… they, no… Cheyenne,

mámʉ kh-'ura-'ay, sayaana-u mámʉ; mámʉ-'ura-'uru
those/s then-be-IMM Cheyenne-PL the/s 3p/s-be-that
it was them,[2] the Cheyenne; they were roaming

pagha[-'ni]-pʉga-vachi-mʉ, miya-'ni-pʉga-vachi-mʉ, marʉ tʉvʉpʉ-a-y
go-INT-REM-BG-PL go/PL-INT-REM-BG-PL that/O country/O-O-O
around, roaming,[3] they were roaming over that country,

miya-'ni-pʉga-vachi-mʉ, pʉsaghay[-kya-]-pʉga-vachi-mʉ núuchi-u…
go/PL-INT-REM-BG-PL search-PL-REM-BG-PL Ute-PL
looking for the Utes…

nagukwi-kya-paa-chi-mʉ-'uru, 'úu-chigya-ni kava-yi 'íiyh-kya-paa-chi,
fight-PL-IRR-NOM-PL-that that-add-like horse-O-3p steal-PL-IRR-NOM
in order to fight them, and in addition to steal horses,

puku-u-amʉ 'umʉ taqho-vaya-khwa-qha-paa-chi; 'ú-máy-'uru
horse-PL-3p the/O ??-side-go-PL-IRR-NOM there-say-that
to round up their horses; so that's where the (enemy)

'uni-vʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga-vachi-mʉ; 'u-vwaa-'ura-'uru máy-na-n-'uru,
do-go-PL-REM-BG-PL there-at-be-that say-REL1s-that
were hanging out; now right there as I told you,

máy-paa-na-'uru, 'u-vwaa núu-agha-pʉga-vachi-mʉ.
say-IRR-REL-that there-at person-have-REM-BG-PL
as I will tell you, there were those people (the enemy).

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2. Mr. Richards wavered on the question of who the Utes fought, the Comanche or the Cheyenne. Historical records, incl. Comanche oral history, suggest that the Ute's enemy in this skirmish were more likely the Comanches, but So. Cheyenne from Indian Country in Oklahoma cannot be ruled out.

3. Mr. Richards here first uses the singular form of the verb *pagha-'ni-* 'roam about', then corrects himself to the plural *miya-'ni-*.

'úmʉ-'ura-'uru núuchi-u ma-vaa tíi kani-gya[tʉ-mʉ]; kh-'ura
3p/s-be-that Ute-PL there-at high house-have-NOM-PL then-be
Now the Utes were camping that way on the heights; and there was a

kukwachi, 'umʉ-wa pagha-'ni-chi 'ura-vachi; kh-'ura kukwachi 'u
Mexican/s 3p/O-with go-INT-NOM be-REM then-be Mexican/s the/s
Mexican guy, he was hanging out with them; now when that Mexican

'i-vee-kʉ pagha-'ni-miya-khu, 'áavʉ-náagha-tukhwa
here-at-EM go-INT-HAB-SUB now-in-go
used to live around here (in Ignacio), when he

pagha-'ni-miya-khu, 'i-vee pagha-'ni… má-va-na-uv
go-INT-HAB-SUB here-at go-INT/IMM there-at-LOC-??
used to live here more recently, he lived here… he used to live

pagha-'ni-mi kani-gya-khu-n, 'u-vwaa karʉ-mi-na-av…
go-INT-HAB house-have-SUB-1s there-at sit-HAB-REL-OWN
right up there (pointing) where I had my house, where it used to sit…

kukwachi 'u, 'u-vwaa kani-gya-qha…
Mexican/s the/s there-at house-have-ANT
that Mexican, he had his house there…

'ura-s-'uru… tugwa-na 'úmʉ kʉmachi-u, sayaana[-u] 'áy-kya-pʉga:
be-C-that night-LOC 3p/s Comanche-PL Cheyenne-PL say-PL-REM
Well so… at night those Comanches… Cheyenne said:

"'agha-vaa-'ura 'uni-kya-paa-ni[-aqh]?…" ma-vaa sú-iini ta'wachi
WH-at-be do-PL-IRR-FUT-it there-at one-s man/s
"Where shall we do it (set the ambush)?" Well, there was one man there

'ura-vachi: "ma-vaa wʉga-ma, marʉ tʉpʉy-wʉgaa-ma, ma-vaa
be-REM there-at hill-LOC that/O rock-hill-LOC there-at
(and he said): "There on the hill, on that rocky hill (to the north),

tʉ́ʉ-'ay, kh-'ura-'uru 'íi-pa-'uru mani ku-kukwi-kya-paa-ni,
well-good then-be-that here-DIR-that do.like RED-shoot-PL-IRR-FUT
it's good there, then we will do the shooting like this this-a-way,

ku-kukwi-kya-paa-ni-amʉ pana-khwa, ku-kukwi-gya
RED-shoot-PL-IRR-FUT-3p return-go RED-shoot-PAR
we will shoot back down at them, and shooting on

qo-qho'ay-paa-ni-amʉ…"; sú-iini-'ura 'áy-vachi: "pʊtʊ'nichi-chi 'i-vee
RED-slaughter-IRR-FUT-3p other-s-be say-BG mound-DIM here-at
we will slaughter them…" then another one said: "That little hill right here

tʉvwa yúaa-va, kach-ukh-'ura ma'a-'a-tʉ 'ura-'ay, 'u-vwaa…"
down plain-at NEG-it-be bush-have/NEG-NOM be-IMM there-at…"
down on the flats, it has no vegetation on it, (let's do it) there…";

sú-iini 'áy-vachi: "ma-vaa-rawi 'uni-kya-vaa! 'uru 'íi-pa
other-S say-BG there-at-1p/IN do-PL-IRR that/O here-DIR
then another one said: "Let's do it over there! This way right about

'úu-pani-'u 'íi-pa 'iya-na máa-wagha-tukhwa, núuchi-u, 'ʉʉʉ…
there-like-3s here-DIR here-LOC there-across-go Ute-PL INTJ
there this way here around there, the Ute, 'ʉʉʉ…

kukwi[-kya]-ta-vaa-ni-[amʉ], paqha-khwa-paa-ni[-amʉ]…
shoot-PL-PASS-IRR-FUT-3p kill-go-IRR-FUT-3p
they will be shot, we will kill them…

kʉ-kukwi-kya-paa-ni-amʉ… qo-qho'ay-kya-paa-ni-amʉ, máa-vay!"
RED-shoot-PL-IRR-FUT-3p RED-slaughter-PL-IRR-FUT-3p there-at
we will shoot them… we will slaughter them all, that way!"

'áy-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs.
say-REM end
he said; so that was that.

kh-'ura kukwachi 'u nʉka-qharʉ-pʉga, 'áa-gha qhaqharʉ-pʉga,
then-be Mexican/S the/S hear-sit-REM gentle-PAR run-REM
Well the Mexican was sitting and listening, so he ran off quietly;

'ʉʉʉ… máa-pa-rukhwa, 'agha-ni-sapa 'uni-'wa-pʉga-vachi,
INTJ there-DIR-go WH-di-MOD do-??-REM-BG
'ʉʉʉ… that-a-way, however he did it,

qhaqharʉ-pʉga; 'ʉʉʉ… máa-pa-rukhwa tíi núuchi-u 'umʉ
run-REM INTJ there-DIR-go high Ute-PL the/O
he ran off; 'ʉʉʉ… he ran up there to where the Utes had

kani-vaa-tugwa-pʉga, tugwa-na; 'ʉʉʉ… núuchi-u
house-at-go-REM night-at INTJ Ute-PL
their camp, at night; 'ʉʉʉ… (to where) the Utes had

sí'aa-qha-ghani-gya[-pʉga-vachi-mʉ), kani-av yúaa-va
skin-RED-house-have-REM-BG-PL house/O-OWN plains-at
their skin-lodges, they had their lodges on

ka-ghani-gya-pʉga; 'u-vwaa-tugwa-pʉga, 'ʉʉʉ… karʉ-pʉga 'ú-naagha,
RED-house-have-REM there-at-go-REM INTJ sit-REM there-in
the flats; so he went there, 'ʉʉʉ… he sat in there (in the doorway),

tʉniya-paa-chi̱-ukh 'uru, pʉsarinia-paa-chi̱: "'iya-na-amʉ̱!"
point-IRR-NOM-it that/O story.tell-IRR-NOM here-LOC-3p
aiming to alert (the Utes) to it, to tell them: "Here they are!"

máy-vaa-chi̱-'uru, 'ú-may-'ura 'uni-vʊrʊ̱-i; 'ʉvʉs.
say-IRR-NOM-that that-say-be do-go-IMM end
he aimed to tell them, that's why he went there; so that was it.

kh-'ura kwa̱-kwayi̱-ku̱-amʉ̱-'uru, kách 'umʉ-va tʉgay-pʉa,
then-be RED-sleep/PL-SUB-3s-that NEG 3p/O-at approach-REM/NEG
Now because the Utes were asleep, the Mexican didn't come close,

'iyavagha-pʉga míichi̱; "'agha-ni-guu-pʉay-agha-amʉ̱ nʉ́nay… 'uru…
fear-REM little WH-do-SUBJ-REM-CL-3p 1s/O that/O
he was a bit afraid; "What might they do to me… that…

'anʉ-'apagha[-vaa]-qa-na̱?…" máy-pʉgay-ni; togho-sapa̱-'ura míichi̱
as.soon-speak-IRR-ANT-REL say-REM-like right-MOD-be little
as soon as I speak (to them)?…" he thought; that's why he was

'iyavagha-pʉga, 'ʉ́ʉʉ… ká-'apagha̱-pʉa 'uwas, 'awi-tava̱ 'u-vwaa
fear-REM INTJ NEG-speak-REM/NEG 3s/s long-day there-at
afraid, 'ʉ́ʉʉ… so he didn't speak, he sat there

karʉ-pʉga 'uwas.
sit-REM 3s/s
for a long time.

kh-'ura pina-khwa-s págha̱-kwa-pʉga, 'umʉ-vaa-chawi̱-ʉs tʉvwa
then-be follow-go-C go-go-REM 3o/O-at-come-C down
Well finally he took off, going down that-a-way back towards the

máa-pa; máa-pa tʉvwa-pʉga 'umʉ-vaa-chugwa-pʉga 'ú-vwa; 'umʉs
there-DIR there-DIR go.down-REM 3p/O-at-go-REM there-at 3p/s
Cheyenne; he went down that-a-way towards them; they were gathered

súu-pa mani-kya-pʉga, 'agha-vaa-sapa̱-'uru súu-pa mani-kya-pʉga-vachi̱;
one-DIR do.like-PL-REM WH-at-MOD-that one-DIR do.like-PL-REM-BG
together like that, wherever it was they were gathered together for;

'ava'na̱-tʉ-mʉ̱ 'ura-pʉga, núuchi-u-gwa-y, 'ú-va̱-'ura yugwi-pʉga[-vachi̱].
many-NUM-PL be-REM person-PL-be-IMM there-at-be sit/PL-REM-BG
there were many of them, people, sitting there.

kh-'ura 'uwas-'uru 'u-vwa mani-gya-yis qha̱qharʉ̱-pʉga-s,
the-be 3s/s-that there-at do-like-PAR-C run-REM-C
Then (after) hanging around there a while the Mexican ran off again,

kʉma-khwa̲-tukhwa̲, ma-vaa 'agha-va-sapa̲ pagha-'ni-pʉga,
other-go-go there-at WH-at-MOD go-INT-REM
elsewhere, wherever it was where he was,

'agha-ni-tugwa-sapa̲ 'uni-'a-pʉga-vachi̲, 'ú-va̲-'ura-'uru karʉ-pʉga-vachi̲.
WH-do-go-MOD do-??-REM-BG there-at-be-that sit-REM-BG
whichever way he went, then he sat there (and waited).[4]

kh-'ura-'uru wíichkʉ-vaa-khu̲, ta̲sʉaa-khu̲-'uru, wíichkʉ-ta-khu̲-'uru,
then-be-that morrow-at-SUB dawn-SUB-that morrow-PASS-SUB-that
Well then in the morning, at dawn, when it turned morning,

'umʉs-'uru máy-chi-mʉ̲ 'úmʉ̲ pá-ini pɵrɵ-khwa-pʉga,
they-be say-NOM-PL 3p/s three-s walk/PL-go-REM
those three (Cheyennes) who were planning the ambush walked over,

tʉpʉy-wʉga-ma-tukhwa̲ 'uru; 'u-vwaa-s-'uru tʉpʉychi
rock-hill-LOC-go the/O there-at-C-that rock/O
to the rocky hill; and there they piled up rocks

kwiy'a-qha-pʉga-s, 'áava̲-tʉ̲-ukh-'uru, 'áava̲tʉ tʉpʉychi
fence-PL-REM-C RED/big-NOM-it-that RED/big-NOM/O rock/O
into barricades, big ones, they were big flat rocks,

sʉ̲-sʉ-pani-chi̲ 'ura-mi, yunay-kya-pʉga máni̲, 'avatʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲,
RED-flat-NOM be-HAB put-PL-REM do.like big be-REM
they put them (together) like this (gesture), big ones,

súuva-tʉ-paa-tʉ̲ míipʉchi̲ 'ura-vachi̲.
other-NOM-DIR-NOM small be-REM
and others were small.

'ʉ́ʉʉ… 'anɵ-khwa-kʉ-ni̲-'ura… 'anɵ-a-vaa-sapa̲ 'ura-tʉ̲…
INTJ WH/QU-EM-like-be WH-O-at-MOD be-NOM
'ʉ́ʉʉ… who knows how many (barricades)… however many there were…

naágha̲-aa toghoy manʉgi-ve-ini 'ura-'wa, manʉgi-ve-ini 'ura-tʉ̲,
maybe-Q well five-at-S be-?? five-LOC-S be-NOM
maybe there were as many as five, they were five,

púupa 'uni-kya-pʉ̲… 'úu-pa-s-ukh 'uni-kya-mi;
way do-PL-NOM there-DIR-C-it do-PL-HAB
they way they made them… that's the way they made them;

4. Most likely, given the Utes' next move, the Mexican man went back again to the Ute camp and told them about the Cheyenne ambush plans.

[nʉ́-'ura] 'u-vwaa-khwa̲-kʉ pagha-'ni-mi, 'uru máa-pa pagha-'ni-gya,
1s/s-be there-at-go-EM go-INT-HAB that/O there-DIR go-INT-PAR
I myself have been right there wandering around, wandering over there,

'u-vwaa pagha-'ni… 'ʉvʉs…
there-at go-INT/IMM end
wandering there… well…

kh-'ura-'uru ['umʉs-'ura] 'u-vwa 'uni-kya-pʉga;
then-be-that 3p/s-be there-at do-PL-REM
So the Cheyenne were all gathered there (on the rocky hill);

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru núuchi-u[-'uru] sʉ̲-sʉti'i̲-pʉgay-kʉ̲,
there-at-it-be-that Ute-PL-that RED-feel-REM-SUB
now when the Utes discovered it,

kh-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa-chawi̲ mani[-kya]-pʉga wíichkʉ… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…
then-be-that there-at-come do.like-PL-REM morrow INTJ
they came down then like this (gesture) in the morning… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…

'i-vee-tʉ tʉvwa, 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲; máama̲chi-u-a-s 'u-vwaa-s
here-at-DIR down there-at-go women-PL-G-C there-at-C
down this way, going there; some of the women went

'uni-kya-pʉga; kh-'ura 'úmʉ̲ kukwachi-u, Antonito 'u-vwaa-tʉ…
do-PL-REM then-be 3p/s Mexican-PL Anronito there-at-DIR
down there too; then those Mexicans, around Antonito…

tʉvʉpʉ-agha-pʉga-vachi̲ kukwachi-u [ka-]kani-gya-tʉ-mʉ̲…
country-have-REM-BG Mexican-PL RED-house-have-NOM-PL
the Mexicans who live around that country there…

'úmʉ̲-'ura 'uni[-kya]-vachi-s 'u-vwaa-khwa̲, 'umʉ-aagha-rukhwa̲
3p/s-be do-PL-BG-C there-at-go 3p/O-have-go
they went along too, the men joining with the

táata'wachi-u pʊrʊ-vachi[-mʉ̲] 'u-vwaa-tukhwa̲, nagukwi-kya-paa-chi-mʉ̲
men-PL walk/PL-BG-PL there-at-go fight-PL-IRR-NOM-PL
Utes marching that way, they marched along there

'u-vwa 'uni-kya-pʉga.
there do-PL-REM
aiming to fight (the Cheyenne).

'umʉs-'ura pana-khwa̲ 'uni-vʊrʊ-khwa-pʉga kavayi-u-vwa-na̲;
3p/s-be down-go do-go/PL-go-ANT-REM horse/O-PL-at-LOC
So they all went there on their horses;

'ava'na-tʉ tʉvʉpʉ-aaghay-kya-kʉ, 'avá'na-tʉ, 'úu-pa; 'i-vee-amʉ-'ura
much-NOM/O country/O-have-ANT-EM much-NOM there-DIR here-at-3p-be
it was a wide-open country, lots of it that way; so they were sitting there

yugwi-pʉga, pʉni-yugwi-pʉga 'umʉ-vaa-chʉ.
sit/PL-REM look-sit/PL-REM 3p/O-at-DIR
(on their horses), sitting and watching them (the Cheyenne).

kh-'ura-'uru 'áa-mani-'wa-pachi-mʉ, 'umʉs 'úmʉ
then-be-that gentle-do.like-??-BG-PL 3p/S the/S
Eventually they all quieted down, they quieted down,

'áa-mani-'wa-pachi-mʉ, 'uni-kya-qha-s; 'ina-khwa-'ura-amʉ kukwachi-u,
gentle-do.like-??-BG-PL do-PL-ANT-S here-go-be-3p Mexican-PL
they had done that; and the Mexican there too,

kwá 'u-vwaa-tukhwa 'úu'mi-u-ghwa-vachi-s, 'u-vwa
INTJ there-ay-go gather-INC-go-BG-C there-at
wow they gathered that way, there were quite

ka-pa'ay-na-wa-tʉ-mʉ kukwachi-u 'u-vwa; kh-'ura 'umʉs
NEG-count-HAB-NEG-NOM-PL Mexican-PL there-at then-be 3p/s
a few Mexicans there; so they sat there

yugwi-vachi-mʉ, 'umʉsʉ-gaa-ni má-vaa 'áa-mani-kya-vachi-mʉ; 'ʉvʉs…
sit/PL-BG-PL 3p/S-TOP-like there-at gentle-do.like-BG-PL end
(on their horses), keeping very quiet there; well…

['umʉs-'ura-'uru sayaana-u] káa-qha-pʉga 'umʉs, káa-qha-pʉga…
3p/s-be-that Cheyenne-PL sing-PL-REM 3p/S sing-PL-REM
Now the Cheyenne were singing, they were singing…

sayaana-u káa-qha-pʉga… káa-qha-pʉga… káa-qha-pʉga…
Cheyenne-PL sing-PL-REM sing-PL-REM sing-PL-REM
the Cheyenne were singing… singing… singing,… and

'apaga-chipi-pʉga, wa-wachigi-kya-pʉga; 'ʉvʉs… mani-kya-pʉga…
speak-go.up-REM RED-whoop-PL-REM end do.like-PL-REM
they were yelling, whooping and hollering; well… they were doing like that…

qo'a-tʉka-qha-pʉga… 'ina-kwa-s-'ura páa-mana-khwa, mara-'ay tíi,
smoke-eat-PL-REM here-go-C-be water-leave-go there/be-IMM high
smoking… it was this way away from the water, it was that way high,

mara-'ay, 'í-mi-na-kwa-s-'ura wʉga-aagha-tʉ pa'a-mara-'ay tʉvwa,
there/be-IMM here-LOC-LOC-go-C-be hill-have-NOM very-there/be-IMM down
it was that way, right there where there's a hill is down there,

pa'a-wʉgaa 'ara-'ay, 'ú-wagha-tukhwa 'áa-sʉ-ni máni;
very-hill be-IMM there-across-to gentle-C-like do.like
right where it's very hilly, right across there it was an easy place

pa'a-tʉ karʉ-rʉ-khu 'ura-'ay, 'anɵ-pa'ay-sapa-ni 'ura-vachi…
tall-NOM sit-ADJ-it be-IMM WH/QU-tall-MOD-like be-BG
(for an ambush) like that; it sits tall, however tall it was…

'awa'na-tʉ marʉ automobil-i tʉvwa naagha… karʉ-rʉ pa'a-toghwa
wide-NOM that/O car-O down maybe sit-ADJ very-long
just as wide maybe for those cars down there maybe… sitting length-wise down

'i-mi-tukhwa; 'ʉvʉs.
here-LOC-go end
there (pointing); well that was that.

'u-vwaa-s-'ura yugwi-pʉga 'umʉs [sayaana-u], káa-qha-gha: "nʉ́ʉʉ,
there-at-C-be sit/PL-REM 3p/S Cheyenne-PL sing-PL-PAR INTJ
Well the Cheyenne were sitting there, singing: "nʉ́ʉʉ,

nʉ́ʉʉ, nʉ́ʉʉ…" kh-'ura 'umʉ-a-tʉ, núuchi-u, núuchi-u-a-tʉ,
INTJ INTJ then-be 3p/O-G-NOM/S Ute-PL Ute-PL-G-NOM/S
nʉ́ʉʉ, nʉ́ʉʉ…" so one of them, Utes, one of the Utes,

moghoy… 'aka-moghoy-gya-vachi, 'ú-'u 'i-vee-khwa tapi-cha'a-vachi,
blanket… red-blanket-have-BG that/S-3s here-at-go heel-catch-BG
blanket… he had a red blanket, and he tied it right there,

puku-vaay-agha-y-av 'íi-pa tʉvwa 'avi-vachi…
horse/O-at-have-O-OWN here-DIR down lie-BG
around his horse and stretched under (the horse's belly)…

"nʉ́' 'íi-pa 'úu-pa máa-wagha-tukhwa mana-khwa
1s/S here-DIR there-DIR there-around-go leave-go
"I'm going right here around the other side away (east)

mamʉ-vaa-chukhwa; 'ina-khwa-núgway mara-'ay tíi, máa-pa
3p/O-at-go here-go-TOP there/be-IMM high there-DIR
toward them; on this side (west) I think it is (too) steep, over there

máa-wagha-tukhwa mana-khwa mamʉ-vaa-chugwa[-vaa-tʉ]" 'áy-pʉga.
there-around-go leave-go 3p/O-at-go-IRR-NOM
around the other way (east) I will get to them" he said.

"'áa-rʉ, 'áa-rʉ" máy-kya-pʉga súuva-tʉ-mʉ, "'áa-rʉ,
gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ say-PL-REM other-NOM-PL/S gentle-ADJ
"Easy, easy" the others told him, "easy,

'áa-rʉ, kukwi[-kya]-ta-vaa-mʉ-ni" máy-kya-pachi-mʉ,
gentle-ADJ shoot-PL-PASS-IRR-2S-FUT say-PL-BG-PL
easy, you'll be shot" they told him,

"'áa-rʉ, 'áa-rʉ, kukwi[-kya]-ta-mʉ-ni"; "kách" máy-vachi
gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ shoot-PL-PASS-2S-FUT NEG say-BG
"easy, easy, you'll be shot"; "No" he said,

'uwas, pʉ́ka-'ura-vachi.
3S/S hard-be-BG
he persisted (in his plan).

kh-'ura sú-iini 'áy-vachí, súuva-tʉ-mʉ máy-kya-pachi: "tawasi
then-be other-S say-BG other-NOM-PL/S say-PL-BG gallop/IMP
Then another (man) said, and others too said: "Gallop your

'úu-ma puku-mʉ! tawasi 'úu[-pa] máa-wagha-tukhwa! 'u-vwaa
there-LOC horse-2S gallop/IMP there-DIR there-around-go there-at
horse that way! Gallop around that way! Then there

kh-'ura máa-pa 'úu-pani!" 'uwasʉ-ni 'u paghay-kwa-vachi,
then-be there-DIR there-like 3S/S-like the/S walk-go-BG
that-a-way like that!" but he just advanced slowly,

'áa-pʊ'nay-kwa-vachi kava-'u, pʊ'nay-kwa-vachi, 'úu-wagha-tʉ máa-pa,
gentle-canter-go-BG horse-3S canter-go-BG there-around-DIR there-DIR
his horse cantered gently, it cantered, right around that-a-way,

ma-vaa tíi tʉ́ʉra-gwa-vaa-chawi-khu tavi-gya; kukwi-ta-vachi-'u,
there-at high out-go-at-go-SUB step-PAR shoot-PASS-BG-3S
stepping there (slowly under the heights) in the open country; and he was shot,

paqha-khwa-ta-vachi-'u, puku-s-'u qhaqhaarʉ-vachi, 'ʉvʉs 'ura-vachi.
kill-go-PASS-BG-3S horse-C-3S run-BG end be-BG
he was killed, and his horse ran off, that was it.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura sú-iini ta'wachi 'ura-vachi, pa'a-tʉ
there-at-it-be other-S man/S be-BG long-NOM/O
Then there was another man, he had long

páagi-gya-tʉ, whtʉpina-qha-vachi 'i-vee tíi, mani-tukhwa
hair-have-NOM bundle-PASS-BG here-at high do.like-go
hair, bundled up here (gesture) high (back of his head),

whtʉpina-qha-vachi, paagi[-'u] 'uru; 'ú 'ura-yi-s… 'ú 'ura-s
bundle-PASS-BG hair-3S the/O that/S be-IMM-C that/S be-C
bundled like this (gesture), his hair; it was that one… it was that one

ˈáy-vachi: “ˈuvwiya-n pʉ-pʉnikya!” máy-vachi, “ˈíi-pa ˈúu-pani
say-BG HORT-1S RED-see/IMP say-BG here-DIR there-like
who said: “Now you-all look at me!” he said, “I’m going to

mana-tarukhwa marʉ pʊtʊˈnichi ˈuru, má-ra tʉpʉychi-vaa-tʉ…
leave-climb that/O mound/O the/O that-be rock/O-at-NOM
climb that hill from there like this, those rocks there (on the west side)…

tʉpʉychi ˈuru… kiya-miya-paya, ˈanʊ-paˈay-sapa-ni ˈura-vachi,
rock/O the/O a.bit-far-side WH/QU-long-MOD-like be-BG
that rocky cliff… a bit on the far side, however far it may be,

kiya-miya-tʉ tʉvwa wʉga ˈuru paya ˈuru, máa-vaa-tukhwa”
a.bit-far-NOM down hill the/O side the/O there-at-go
a little farther down (under) the hillside (cliff), going that-a-way”

máy-vachi-ˈura; “máa-vaa-tukhwa wiˈi-u-paa-ni máa-vaa-tukhwa
say-BG-be there-at-go fall-INC-IRR-FUT there-at-go
he said; “On that side I will jump that-a-way

puku-av ˈinay, máa-va sʊˈa-qha-paa-ni…”
horse-OWN this/O there-at crouch-PASS-IRR-FUT
off this horse, that way, and I’ll crouch there…”

> ˈʉvʉs… pʉ-pʉni-kya-vachi-mʉ ˈumʉs [ˈuwayas] tawasi[-ku]…
> end RED-look-PL-BG-PL 3p/S 3s/G gallop-SUB
> Well… so they watched as he galloped…

puku-av ˈuway tawasi-khʉ… tawasi-u-pachi; ka-kiya-paˈa-na-wa-tʉ
horse-OWN the/O gallop-SUB gallop-INC-BG NEG-very-tall-HAB-NOM
as he galloped his horse… he galloped; that hill wasn’t

ˈúrʉ pʊtʊˈnichi, ˈu-na-tarukhwa kava-ˈu togho-khwa-pachi,
that/S mound/S there-LOC-climb horse-3S right-go-BG
very tall, so his horse went up there right away,

ˈu-na-tarukhwa tʉpʉy-agha-rukhwa mani-paghay-kwa-vachi; ma-vaa
there-LOC-climb rock-have-go do.like-walk-go-BG there-at
going like this up the rocky hillside; and there

tʉpʉychi tʉ-tʉ́naa-va tavi-chi, ˈi-mi-tukhwa wiˈi-vachi núuchi ˈu;
rock/G RED-root-at step-NOM here-LOC-go drop-BG Ute/S the/S
as he stepped at the base of the cliff, the Ute (man) dropped off (his horse);

tʉpʉy-tʉ́naa-va soˈa-qha-vachi, kh-ˈura puku-s-ˈu máa-pa-u-pachi.
rock-root-at crouch-ANT-BG then-be horse-C-3S there-DIR-INC-BG
he crouched at the base of the cliff, and his horse then ran off that-a-way.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'umʉs-'uru 'ú-vwa kani-aagha-vachi̱ 'uru
there-at-it-be 3p/s-that there-at house-have-BG that/O
Now the Cheyenne had their camp right there (above)

pʉ́-paa-tʉ-'u 'uni-'wa-pʉ, kani-gya-vachi̱ 'uni-kya-vachi̱[-mʉ̱],
REL-DIR-DIR-3s do-??-NOM house-have-BG do-PL-BG-PL
where he (the Ute man) had landed, they had made their camp there,

'ú-vwaa-s súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni yugwi-vachi-mʉ̱ 'umʉ-a-tʉ-mʉ̱;
there-at-C other-NOM-PL-S sit/PL-BG-PL 3p-G-NOM-PL3p-G-NOM/S
and some of them were sitting right (above) there [,] some of them;

'umʉ-a-tʉ̱ 'ú-vwaa tugu-tukhwa̱ 'uway-u-pachi̱, pa'a-'uway-u-pachi̱ tíi;
3p-G-NOM/S there-at up-go jump-INC-BG very-jump-INC-BG high
so one of them jumped up there, jumped way up high;

'ú marʉ 'ichay ma-ra-tʉ-mʉ-ni, mani-tukhwa̱ tʉpʉychi 'uru
3s/s that/O this/O there-be-NOM-AN-like do.like-go rock/O the/O
and doing just like this, he dislodged a boulder this way (gesture) and

'u-na-paa-tukhwa̱ kʉ̱kwi-vachi̱-ukh; 'i-vee-'uru
there-LOC-DIR-go shoot-BG-it here-at-that
rolled it down; then he sat down right there and

karʉ-khwa̱-pachi̱ kukwi-vachi̱.
sit-go-BG shoot-BG
started shooting (at the Ute man).

kh-'ura-'uru páagi-a-'u whtʉpina-qha-tʉ 'úrʉ̱-'u tʉ́ʉ-kukwi-vachi̱,
then-be-that hair-G-3s bundle-PASS-NOM/O that/S-3s well-shoot-BG
Right away he shot off the Ute Man's hair-bundle,

'i-vee-aqh 'iya-na togho-'i-vee-aqh-'uru-'ura 'u-vwaa
here-at-it here-LOC right-here-at-it-that-be there-at
right here (gesture) here (so the bullet) went right here through (the hair)

wagha-rugwa-pachi-sapa̱, tʉvwa, súu-míichi̱-'ura 'anʊ-paay-sapa-ni
through-go-BG-MOD down strong-little-be WN/QU-DIR-MOD-like
like this (gesture), down, just a little however much, like this maybe,

'i-vee-sapa-ni naagha̱, 'ichay tʉkua-y-'u má-naagha̱ wʉnʉ-kwa-vachi̱.
here-at-MOD-like maybe this/O flesh-O-3s there-in stand-go-BG
then lodging there in his (the Ute man's) flesh.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura sú-iini 'áy-vachi̱: "nʉ́-gaa-sʉ-ni!" máy-u-pachi-s,
there-at-it-be other-A say-BG 1s/s-TOP-C-like say-INC-BG-C
Then another Ute said: "It's my turn!" he said,

puku-av 'uway tawasi̲-u-pachi-s, 'u-vwaa-tʉ̲ 'uwa-na̲-pa-'u
horse-OWN the/O gallop-INC-BG-C there-at-DIR 3s/O-LOC-DIR-3s
and he started galloping his horse, racing towards him

qha̲qhaarʉ-vachi̲; ma-vaa kwáa tʉgay-'wa-chi̲, wi'i-u-pachi̲.
run-BG there-at run arrive-??-NOM jump-INC-BG
(the wounded Ute); and upon arriving there, he jumped down.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura sú-iini 'uni-'wa-pachi-s, nana-pa… 'anʊ-ii-sapa̲
there-at-it-be other-S do-??-BG-C REC-DIR WH/QU-??-MOD
So then another one did the same, and together… however many did

'uni[-kya]-pʉga-vachi-mʉ̲, 'u-vwaa-'ura yugwi-vachi-mʉ̲… kh-'ura 'úmʉ̲
do-PL-REM-BG-PL there-at-be sit/PL-BG-PL then-be those/S
the same, and they all sat together down there (under the cliff)… then those

kukwachi-u máa-pa-tʉ-mʉ̲… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… múu'napʉ-m
Mexican-PL there-DIR-NOM-PL INTJ sling.shot-with
Mexicans that-a-way… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… they threw

tʉpʉychi-m ta̲-tapi-ta-vachi-mʉ̲.
rock-with RED-throw-PASS-BG-PL
rocks (at the Cheyenne) with their sling-shots.

'umʉ-ga-ni̲ núuchi-u-'uru 'ipʉ-a-sapa̲-'uru mani-ukh,
3p-TOP-like Ute-PL-that WH-O-MOD-that do.like-it
Now the Utes started doing whatever like this,

tʉpʉy-gwa-tukhwa̲ ku̲kwi-miya-kway, taqhapina-miya… 'uru
rock-go-go shoot-go/PL-MOD cut-go/PL that
shooting on at the rock-cliff, they kept mowing (the Cheyenne) down… they

mani-'wa-na-'u, 'uru-pa'agha̲ 'uway-ku̲, kukwi-miya-s-'u,
do.like-??-REL-3s that/O-over jump-SUB shoot-go/PL-C-3s
would do that, whenever a Cheyenne would jump, they would shoot him,

pa̲qha-khwa-miya-s-'u kwáy…
kill-go-go/PL-C-3s INTJ
and kill him like that…

kach-ukh kiya-miya-wa-tʉ̲ Rio Grande… 'anʊ-paay-sapa-ni̲
NEG-it very-go-NEG-NOM Rio Grande WH-DIR-MOD-like
It is not very far, (from) the Rio Grande… however far it is,

'ura-vachi̲, 'anʊ-paay-sapa̲… naagha̲… naagha̲… súwa two miles
be-BG wh-DIR-MOD maybe maybe almost two miles
however far… maybe… maybe… almost two miles

'i-vee-ni, naagha-tʉ 'ura-vachi; 'u-vwaa-tʉ… puku-'u…
here-at-like, maybe-NOM be-REM there-at-DIR horse-3s
right here, maybe it was; that's where… his (the first Ute man's) horse…

Rio Grande nukwi-na 'ura-vachi… qhaqhaarʉ-vachi 'ú-'u.
Rio Grande run-REL be-BG run-BG 3s/s-3s
ran (across) the Rio Grande… it ran away.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-amʉ 'úmʉ súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni núuchi-u
there-at-it-be-3p 3p/s other-NOM-PL-S Indian-PL
And those other Indians (Cheyenne)

mʊ-mʊtʊni-vachi-mʉ, kh-'ura nana-ma 'uni-u-pachi-mʉ,
RED-run/PL-BG-PL then-be REC-LOC do-INC-BG-PL
kept running (one by one), then they would band together,

mʊtʊni-vachi-mʉ; 'ʉ́ʉʉ… tʉvwa píiya-qha-pachi-mʉ páa-va-chawi;
escape/PL-BG-PL INTJ down run-PL-BG-PL water-at-go
then run (away); 'ʉ́ʉʉ… they ran down toward the water;

'umʉs-'ura máa-pa 'u-'uni-vachi-mʉ, núuchi-u, 'umʉs-'ura
3p/s-be there-DIR RED-do-BG-PL Ute-PL 3p/s-be
and the Utes kept doing it (chasing) that-a-way, (after) each one,

'uni-kya-pachi-mʉ-'u tʉvwa, 'ivichi-m-kway, 'ivichi-m tachi-maku-'u
do-PL-BG-PL-3s down stick-with-MOD stick-with head-finish-3s
they chased them down there, with sticks, they smashed their heads with

kwipa-mi, 'umʉ kʉmaachi[-u]… sayaana-y, tʉ-tʉravi-miya-'u-kway.
hit-HAB 3p/O Comanches-PL Cheyenne-O RED-throw-HAB-3p-MOD
sticks, those Comanches… Cheyenne, they went on throwing (them one by one into the water).

'ú-'uni[-kyay]-khu kh-'ura 'uni-kya-y, [qo-]-gho'ay-na-y;
RED-do-PL-SUB then-be do-PL-IMM RED-slaughter-REL-O
So this is what the Utes did (to the Cheyenne), (that's how) they kept

súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni-ura-'uru ma-ni-tukhwa kwiy'a-navichi-kya-tʉ-paa-tukhwa
other-NOM-PL-S-be-that there-LOC-go fence-MASS-PASS-DIR-go
slaughtering them;but some of the Cheyenne went the other way (west)

'uni-'wa-pachi súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni; kh-'ura 'umʉ-a-tʉ…
do-??-BG other-NOM-PL the-be 3p/O-G-NOM/S
toward the (rock) barricades, those others; then one of them…

qoy'o-khwa-pʉ'i-gya-tʉ̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲, 'uway-'ura pʉ'i-chi-a-'u
hollow-PASS-eye-have-NOM be-REM-BG 3s/G-be eye-NOM-G-3s
he had a hollowed eye, his eye had been

tayu'ni̲-ta-qha-vachi̲ tʉpʉychi-m, 'ʉvʉs; 'ú-'ura 'ú-náagha̲ 'avi-vachi̲,
gouge-PASS-ANT-BG rock-with end that/3s-be there-in lie-BG
gouged by a rock, that's it; so he was lying in there (in the rock barricade),

'umʉ-naagha̲ 'avi-vachi̲, wiichi-gya-pʉga-vachi̲-'uru-'u
3p/O-in lie-BG knife-have-REM-BG-that-3s
lying among them (other Cheyenne), and he had a knife

náayvi-vaa-chukhwa̲.
hand/O-at-go
in his hand.

kh-'ura núuchi-u-a-tʉ-mʉ̲, 'áayh-pʉchi̲ 'ura-vachi̲ ta'wachi̲…
then-be Ute-PL-G-NOM-PL young.man-DIM be-BG man
Well then some of the Utes, there was a young man there…

kách… ká-tʉvʉchi̲ togho-maku-tʉ̲ mara-'wa-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲,
NEG NEG-very right-finish-NOM there/be-NEG-NOM-AN be-BG
no… (the half-blind Cheyenne man) was not well placed there,

'ʉvʉy-kyarʉ-rʉ̲ mara-tʉ-mʉ̲… 'ʉ́ʉʉ…'uru wíitʉs
bad/O-sit-ADJ there/be-NOM-AN INTJ that past
he was badly positioned… 'ʉ́ʉʉ… earlier on

'ʊra-qha-tʉ-náagha̲-tukhwa̲ 'ú-náagha̲-tukhwa̲ qha̲qhaarʉ-vachi̲; 'u-vwa
dig-PASS-NOM/O-in-go there-in-go run-BG there-at
he had run into the ditch; but there was a

núuchi̲ 'avi-vachi̲; ['uwas-'ura sayaana 'u] magʉ'na-vachi̲-'u
Ute/s lie-BG 3s/s-be Cheyenne/s the/s jump-BG-3s
Ute man lying in there (already); so the Cheyenne man jumped

'uwas; 'u̲-'uni-'wa̲-khu̲-'u[-'uru], 'uwas-'uru wii-tʊna-vachi̲-'u;
3s/s RED-do-??-SUB-that 3s/s-that knife-stab-BG-3s
him; and as he did that, the Ute man stabbed him with his knife.

'ʉvʉs, 'ʉ́ʉʉ… "ká-tʉvʉchi-gya-wa!" máy-kya-pachi-mʉ̲ ['úmʉ̲]
end INTJ NEG-believe-have-NEG say-PL-BG-PL 3p/s
Well that was that, 'ʉ́ʉʉ… "You didn't believe us!" the

súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni; paqha-khwa̲-ta-vachi̲-'u 'uway, 'uni-'wa-tʉ̲; 'ʉvʉs.
other-NOM-PL-S kill-go-PASS-BG-3s 3s/O do-??-NOM end
other Cheyenne had told him (the half-blind man); so he was killed, the one who did that (picked the ambush spot); well that was it.

'umʉs-'ura súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni tʉvwa máa-na páa-ma-tukhwa
3p/s-be other-NOM-PL-S down there-LOC water-LOC-go
Now the other Cheyenne wend down to the river(,) down to the bank of

Rio-Grande-ma-tukhwa tʉvwa páa-ma 'uni-kya-pachi, kh-'ura
Rio-Grande-LOC-go down water-LOC do-PL-BG then-be
the Rio Grande, and

'umʉs-'ura pa'a-qo-qho'ay-pachi-mʉ, pa'a-qo-gho'ay-pachi-mʉ.
3s/s-be complete-RED-slaughter-BG-PL complete-RED-slaughter-BG-PL
the Utes then slaughtered them, they slaughtered them.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura súu-yis-amʉ tapi-wʉnay-pachi[-amʉ],
there-at-it-be one-S-3p heel-throw-BG-3p
But one of them (Cheyenne) managed to outrun them,

togho-khwa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-vachi 'ú-'u; ma-vaay-ni wʉnʉ-vachi,
right-go-NOM-AN be-BG that/s-3s there-at-like stand-BG
he was a fast runner that one; so he stood right there,

páa-va-chawi 'uru, páa-va-chawi 'uru yáakwi-vachi, 'ʉvʉs;
water-at-go the/O water-at-go the/O disappear-BG end
in the water, he disappeared into the water, that was that;

"'áa-rʉ, 'áa-rʉ!" máy-kya-pachi[-mʉ], "páa-y 'ara-vaa[-tʉ]!"
gentle-ADJ gentle-ADJ say-PL-BG-PL water-O be-IRR-NOM
"Easy, easy!" the Utes were calling (to each other), "let him (cross) the river!"

máy-kya-pachi[-mʉ], "pʉsariniya-paa-tʉ-'ara!"
say-PL-BG-PL story.tell-IRR-NOM-be
they said, "let him tell the story (to his people)!"

kh-'ura-s má-vaa-tʉ 'ina-khwa-paa-tʉ karʉ-i pa'a-pʊtʊ'nichi[-'uru];
then-be-C there-at-DIR here-go-DIR-NOM sit-IMM tall-mound/s-that
Well there was someone sitting this side of the tall hill;

'u-vwaa-tʉ yagha-vachi, núuchi 'ú-vway yagha-vachi 'ú sú-iini;
there-at-DIR cry-BG person/s that/s-TOP cry-BG that/s other-s
he was crying there, another Indian (Cheyenne) was crying there;

'ú-'ura kukwachi súuva-tʉ-paa-ni karʉ-vachi, pʉni-kyarʉ-vachi-amʉ,
that/S-be Mexican/s other-NOM-DIR-like sit-BG look-sit-BG-3p
and that Mexican (who told the story) was sitting and looking the other way,

kukwachi 'u 'ú-vwaa karʉ-vachi; 'i-vee-'ura yagha-vachi, ma-vaay,
Mexican/s the/s there-at sit-BG here-at-be cry-BG there-at
sitting and watching them (the Cheyenne), the Mexican was sitting there;

'umʉ-a-tʉ; 'ú-'ura 'agha-ni-sapa qhaqhaarʉ-pʉga-vachi;
3p-G-NOM that/S-be WH-do-MOD run-REM-BG
and right there (one Cheyenne) cried, one of them; it was the one who

kh-'ura 'umʉ[a]s-'ura 'íi-pa tʉvwa-chi-'uru 'uway-'ura: "'aa-rʉ
then-be 3p/S-G-be here-DIR descend-SUB-that 3s/O-be gentle-ADJ
somehow ran away; so as they were going down (to the river) (the Utes told

'áa-rʉ! páa-y 'ara-vaa! pʉsa[ri]niya-paa-tʉ-'ara payu-kwa-qhay[-kʉ]!"
gentle-ADJ water-O be-IRR story.tell-IRR-NOM-be return-go-ANT-SUB
one of them): "Easy, easy! Let him go to the river! So that he may tell the story

'ʉvʉs, yu-yukhwi-pachi-mʉ 'u-vwaa-s.
end RED-sit/PL-BG-PL there-at-C
when he's back!" So, they sat there (watching the Cheyenne man escape).[5]

'ú-'uway-'ura núuchi 'i-vee-yaakwi tʊna-ta-qha-vachi,
that-3s/O-be Ute/S here-at-sink stab-PASS-ANT-BG
There was a Ute man down there who had been stabbed,

'agha-vaa-kwa-sapa; 'ʉvʉs, kh-'ura-s… 'ipʉ-a-sapa 'ini-aagha-tʉ
WH-sa-go-MOD end then… WH-O-MOD POSS-have-NOM
wherever it was; well, then… whatever it was he had

'ura-vachi, 'agha-ra-tʉ-mʉ puwa-gha-tʉ 'ura-pʉga-vachi naagha,
be-BG WH-be-NOM-AN medicine-have-NOM be-REM-BG maybe
(with him), whatever kind of Medicine Man he may have been,

'agha-ni-sapa mara-tʉ-mʉ… 'ú-'ura-s-'uru… 'ú-'uway… páa-y
WH-do-MOD there/be-NOM-AN that/S-be-C-that that/S-that/O blood-O
whatever kind… it was that one… that one… he was oozing blood…

'ini-a-kway… pariyʉ-y kʉchiavi 'i-vee-tʉ-ni kh-'ura-mi,
WH-O-MOD elk-O spittle/O here-at-DIR-like then-be-HAB
whatever… it was like elk spittle, it was like here,

'ú-ra-tʉ-aa-ni 'uni-aagha-tʉ 'ura-pʉga-vachi; 'úrʉ-'ura
that-be-NOM-O-like POSS-have-NOM be-REM-BG that-be
like that kind he must have had in his possession; that is what

5. The next paragraph recaps the preceding passage, then goes on into an extended description of traditional war medicine.

kʉpʉ-rʉ 'ura-qa-vachi-ukh… pariyʉ-yagha-tʉ… [púupa-'uru]
hold.in.mouth-ADJ be-ANT-BG-it elk/O-cry-NOM way-that
he had been holding in his mouth… he elk-cried… just the way the

pariyʉ 'uway yagha-mi-na-pani, ya-yagha-vachi mani-vachi-ukh; páapʉ
enk/G the/G cry-HAB-REL-like RED-cry-BG do.like-BG-it blood/s
elk cries, he kept crying like this; and his blood

'uru mani-vachi 'úu-pa, tara'wa-qha-vachi páapʉ 'uru,
the/S do.like-BG there-DIR puncture-PASS-BG blood/s the/S
was (oozing) like this, the blood (vein) had been punctured,

máy-gya-'uru… 'ʉvʉs, ká-ya'a-na-wa-tʉ-'uru máy-gya-'uru,
say-PAR-that end NEG-die-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM-that say-PAR-that
that is… well, he didn't die(,) that is,

ká-ya'a-na-wa-tʉ.[6]
NEG-die-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM
he didn't die.

'uru súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni, súuva-tʉ musutkwivi 'uni-aagha-tʉ
that/O other-NOM-PL-like other-NOM/O medicine/O POSS-have-NOM
And there were others, and there were other (kinds of)

'ura-vachi; 'umʉ-a-tʉ, 'anɵ-ii-sapa naagha manu-ni
be-BG 3p/O-G-NOM/S WH-??-MOD maybe qall-S
medicine; one of them (men), however many, maybe it was all of them

'ura-qha-pachi-mʉ, tapɵ[ni]-ti-na-qha-vachi, 'anɵ-paay-sapa-ni
be-PL-BG-PL bundled-CAUS-HAB-PASS-BG WH-DIR-MOD-like
(who had medicine), bundled together, however much

musutkwivi 'ura-'ay; 'ú-'ura-'uru ma-vaa-tʉ
medicine/S be-IMM that/S-be-that there-at-DIR-O
medicine it was; so that one (old man) there with

'ipʉ[-a]-sapa 'ura-vachi 'ivichi, 'ivi-taachi[-m] 'ipʉ-a-sapa;
WH-O-MOD be-BG stick/O stick-DIM-with WH-O-MOD
whatever it was(,) stick, (he did it) with whatever little stick;

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6. The negative *ka-ya'a-na-wa-tʉ* 'he didn't die', used twice in a row, is highly irregular and is most likely a slip, with a superfluous *triple* negation. The suppletive negative-anterior suffix *-na* would have sufficed.

'uru kʉchia-maku mani-u-chi̲, 'ú-náagha̲ mani-'wa̲-pachi̲.
that/O saliva-with do.like-INC-NOM there-in do.like-??-BG
doing it with his saliva like this, he put it in there (in the wounds).

kh-'ura-'uru mani-vachi̲ pʊ'ʊ-vachi̲ 'úu-wagha-tukhwa̲, 'uru-m-'ura
then-be-that do.like-BG scratch-BG there-around-go that-with-that
Then he scratched a mark around it, and with it he inserted (the stick)

'úu-pa-s-ukh chʉnʉgi-pachi-s; kh-'ura tʉpa-va-'u-khu̲ ma'ana-vachi-s,
there-DIR-C-it insert-BG-C then-be mouth-at-3s-it wipe-BG-C
in there (the wound); then he wiped (the stick) in his mouth,

'u-ma-tʉ; 'úru̲ 'ʉ́ʉ-mu̲sutkwivi̲ 'ura-vachi̲; 'úru̲-'ura 'uni-'wa̲-khu̲-'u,
there-LOC-DIR that/s real-medicine/s be-BG that/s-be do-??-SUB-3s
that way; that was real medicine; because he did that,

ká-ya'a-na-wa-tʉ̲ 'uwas, tavii-vachi̲; 'úru̲-'ura 'ura-'ay…
NEG-die-ANT/NEG-NEG 3s/s recover-BG that/s-be be-IMM
he (the wounded man) didn't die, he recovered; that's the way it was…

'uwas-'uru máy-vachi-s, pariyʉ ya̲-yagha-ti-vachi̲ 'awi-tava̲,
3s/s-that say-BG-C elk/O RED-cry-CAUS-BG long-day
He was the one who made the sound, crying like an elk for a long time,

paghay'wa̲-gha-'uru, nana-pʊrʊ-khu̲-amʉ̲-'uru, páapʉ̲-'ura-'uru
walk-PAR-that REC-go/PL-SUB-3p-that blood-be-that
walking, while all of them were moving on, and his blood was (oozing out)

mani-'wa̲-pachi̲, 'áa-mani-'wa̲-pachi̲; ká-'uni-na-wa-tʉ-s,[7] 'ú-'ura
do.like-??-BG gentle-do.like-??-BG NEG-do-ANT/NEG-NEG-NOM-C that/s-be
like this, slowly like this; but later it stopped, he was

'avi-vachi̲, 'avi-vachi̲, kukwi-pʉay-aghay-ku̲-tʉ-s, 'avi… naghami-pachi̲
lie-REM lie-REM shoot-REM-CL-SUB-NOM-C lie/IMM sick-BG
lying down, lying, after they shot him, lying… he was sick

'úu-mana-khwa̲; 'ʉ́ʉʉ…
there-leave-go INTJ
from that; 'ʉ́ʉʉ…

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7. It appears that Mr. Richards use of triple negation with the negative-anterior *-na* was systematic. In his grammar then, *-na* is not a *portmenteau* of NEG-ANT but rather a suppletive form of the anterior suffix *-ka* when it precedes the negative suffix *-wa*.

'ú-'u̲ni 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲ 'ú núuchi̲ wíitʉs, 'úru̲-'u
that/s-do be-REM-BG that/s Ute/s past that/s-3s
That's how a Ute (man) used to do it in the old days, that

mu̲sutkwi-gya-tʉ̲ whtʉpina-qha-tʉ̲[-m-av] 'ipʉ-sapa̲ 'ura-vachi̲,
medicine-have-NOM bundle-PASS-NOM-with-OWN WH-MOD be-BG
medicine-man (with his) medicine-bundle, whatever it was,

'uru-vwa-yi-s; ká-pu̲chuchugwa-ta-pʉa 'ura-yi-s; 'úru̲-'uru
that/O-at-IMM-C NEG-know-PASS-REM/NEG be-IMM-C that/s-that
who knows about that; nobody knows about it any more; that's

nagukwi-mu̲sutkwi[vi̲]-'u máy-na-'u, 'úru̲ 'ura-pʉga-vachi̲…
war-medicine-3s say-REL-3s that/s be–REM-BG
what they used to call War-Medicine, that's what it was…

'ura-pʉga-vachi̲ wíitʉ̲s-'uru; togho-sapa̲-'ura nagukwi-na-pʉga-vachi̲…
be-REM-BG past-that right-MOD-be fight-HAB-REM-BG
(how it) was long ago; that's why (how?) they used to fight…

'úru̲-'ura-'uru… máy-kya-miya-agha-na-kʉ…
that/s-be-that say-PL-HAB-CL-REL-EM
That's it… what they used to tell…

pʉsariniya-qha̲-qay-ku̲-'uru-'ʉ… 'u-vwa-tugwa-sapa̲ 'ura-'ay 'úru̲.
story.tell-PL-ANT-SUB-that-EM there-at-go-MOD be-IMM that/s
when they told the stories… that's as far as it goes.

TEXT 30

News broadcast (KIUP-FM)

spoken by: Martha B. Myore[1]
date recorded: 6-19-83
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

…the woman. wife, mother, grandmother,[2]

'úmʉ-'ura nía-gha-tʉ kwáa-khwa-kwa 'umʉsʉ-ga,
3p/s-be name-have-NOM/O win-go-ANT 3p/s-TOP
their(suggested) names won (the naming contest),

tʉka-qha-qha-vachi-mʉ-'ura, tʉkua-tʉka-qha-qha-vachi-mʉ
eat-PL-ANT-BG-PL-be meat-eat-PL-ANT-BG-PL
and they had a dinner, a steak dinner up

'a-vaa-tʉ-'uru tíi Bayfield-vaa-tʉ máy-kya-khu-s; kh-'ura 'áavʉ-'ura
there-at-NOM-that high Bayfield-at-DIR say-PL-it-C then-be now-be
up there towards Bayfield they say;[3] and now

'ura-vaa-tʉ 'ura-'ay náagha carnival 'ura-vaa-tʉ 'ura-'ay máy-kya-amʉ-s;
be–IRR-NOM be-IMM maybe carnival be-IRR-NOM be-IMM say-PL-3p-C
there's going to be a carnival maybe, they say;

'úru-'ura rodeo ká-'ura-vaa-'wa-tʉ 'ura-vachi, kʉma-s 'ura-vaa-tʉ,
that-be rodeo NEG-be-IRR-NEG-NOM be-BG other-C be-IRR-NOM
but there won't be any rodeo, there'll be something else,

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1. This text was recorded off the radio, where Mrs. Myore had a Ute language program of reservation news, done for many years prior by Mrs. Essie Kent.

2. The opening topic deals with preparations for Ute Fair.

3. The formulaic *máy-kya-ku-s or 'áy-kya-ku-s,* 'they say it', is typical of the genre of reporting news generated by sources other than the speaker. This expression functions as an *evidential* marker, disclaiming direct knowledge of, and responsibility for, the reported information.

'u-vwaa-tʉ mʉni 'átʉ-máy-ta-vaa-tʉ-sapa-amʉ 'ura-vachi.
there-at-DIR 2p/O well-say-PASS-IRR-NOM-MOD be-BG
which it will be announced to you later on.

kh-'ura 'umʉ-ga táata'wachi-u 'ura-vaa-ni 'umʉ-ga
then-be 3p/O-TOP men-PL be-IRR-FUT 3p/O-TOP
Then for the men there will be for them a

chʉrʉ-sa'a-qha-paa-tʉ-mʉ, 'ura-vachi-mʉ; chʉrʉ-sa'a-tʉvʉy-gyay-kʉ-'uru,
chili-boil-PL-IRR-NOM-PL be-BG-PL chili-boil-very-have-SUB-that
chili-cooking contest, there will be; so if you are an expert chili cook,

'u-vwaa-tukhwa kwáa-khwa-kwa-vaa-chi, nani-kwáa-u-paa-chi-'ura
theree-at-go win-go-ANT-IRR-NOM REC-win-INC-IRR-NOM-be
you may win there, maybe you will win

naagha kwáa-u-paa-chi 'uni-gyay-kʉ-'uru, máy-kya-khu-s.
maybe win-INC-IRR-NOM do-PAR-it-that say-PL-it-C
if you do it, they say.

kh-'ura 'ura-vaa-chi-s-'uru manu-khʉ-tʉ-s-'uru, núu-giya-qha-pʉ-'uru
then-be be-IRR-NOM-C-that all-O-NOM-C-that Ute-play-ANT-NOM-that
Then there will also be all (kinds of other events), there will

'áavʉ 'ura-vaa-tʉ 'ura-vachi; kh-'ura-'uru páawaw
now be-IRR-NOM be-BG then-be-that powow
be Hand-Games now; then there will also be a powwow

'ura-vaa-sʉ-ni ma-vway-'uru tʉvwa, 'u-vwa-y-amʉ-'uru
be-IRR-C-FUT there-at-that down there-at-O-3p-that
down over there, over there where they

kava-nana-chigya-qha-paa-y-amʉ-'uru, 'ú-náagha-'uru 'ura-vaa-tʉ
horse-REC-race-PL-DIR-O-3p-that there-in-that be-IRR-NOM
race horses (the horse arena), it will be in there,

'ura-vachi, pá-ini-'uru-s [tavay] 'ura-vaa-tʉ 'ura-vachi,
be-BG three-s-that-C day be-IRR-NOM be-BG
it will be a three-day (powwow),

páa-tavay-ni 'áy-kya-khu-s.
three-day-s say-PL-it-C
three days they say.

kh-'ura ma-vaa-tugwa-khwa-vaa-chi 'ʉmʉy-gya, 'áy-kya-khu-s;
then-be there-at-go-go-IRR-NOM 2s-TOP say-PL-it-C
So you can go there, they say;

ma-vaay-'ura-'uru-s tʉvwa Sky Ute Downs 'ura-vaa-ni,
there-at-be-that-C down S. U. D. be-IRR-FUT
it will be down there at Sky Ute Downs,

Ute Park 'i-vee 'ura-vaa-sʉ-ni, 'ura-vaa-tʉ 'ura-'ay 'áy-kya-khu-s;
Ute Park here-at be-IRR-C-FUT be-IRR-NOM be-IMM say-PK-it-C
and also here at Ute Park, it'll be they say;

ma-vaa-tʉ-'uru 'ʉ́mʉ na-rʉsu'a-'ni-vee-chi̱, táa-rʉ-vwaa-chi̱
there-at-DIR-that 2s/S REFL-feel-INT-IRR-NOM shirt-make-IRR-NOM
so you should be aware of that, and make clothing

'ipʉ[-a]-sapa-'uru ma-vaay, píiria wachʉ-vwaa-na̱-av;
WH/O-MOD-that there-at fair put-IRR-REL-OWN
(of) whatever (kind) there, for entering them in the fair;

'áavʉ̱ 'uni-vaa-chi̱ 'áy-kya-khu-s
now do-IRR-NOM say-PL-it-C
you should do it now, they say.

'umʉ-vaa-chʉ̱-'ura 'ura-yi-s 'ícha̱-'ara Miss Southern Ute
3p/O-at-DIR-be be-IMM-C this-be M. S. U.
Now about them(,) this Miss Southern Ute

Commmittee 'umʉ-ga 'áavʉ̱, pʉsaghay-kya-pachi-mʉ̱-'uru… 'uru…
C. 3p-TOP now seek-PL-BG-PL-that that
Committee(,) them now, they are looking for… that… that… Ute…

'uru… núu-núu-agha-tʉ… núu… núu-náayvi[-u], náa-na'a̱chichi-u
that Ute-Ute-have-NOM/O Ute Ute-maiden-PL RED-girl-PL
Ute… Ute teenage girls, and girls,

'ura-vachi̱, ma-vaa-tʉ̱-'uru tʉvwa 'uni-'a-vaa-tʉ̱ 'ura-'ay, máa Miss
be-BG there-at-DIR-that down do-??-IRR-NOM be-IMM there M.
so that they would go down there (to Southern Ute Fair Committee), the Miss

Indian Tribal Ceremonial in Gallup, N.M., 'áy-kya-khu-s
I. T. C. in Gallup N.M. say-PL-it-C
Indian Tribal Ceremonial (competition) in Gallup, N.M., they say

'áavʉ̱ August eleven to fourteen, 'ura-vaa-tʉ̱ 'ura-vachi̱-'uru.
now August eleven to fourteen be-IRR-NOM be-BG-that
now(,) August eleven to fourteen, it will be (held).

kh-'ura 'ásti'i̱-paa-chi̱-'u, naagha̱ pachʉ-av náagha̱
then-be want-IRR-NOM-3s maybe daughter-OWN maybe
Now you may want, maybe (to enter) your daughter or maybe

'agha-ni-aa-sapa̲-av, na'achichi 'ʉmʉy-gya mámʉ̲…
WH-do-O-MOD-OWN girl/G you-TOP those/s
your whoever, your girl or them… you should

'umʉ-vwaa-chugwa-vaa-chi̲; kh-'ura ma-vaa 'uni-'a-vaa-tʉ̲ 'ura-yi-s,
3p/O-at-go-IRR-NOM then-be there-at do-??-IRR-NOM
go to them (the committee); and she should also go there,

'ú tíi náayvi̲ 'áavʉ̲-'uru Miss Indian America, Sheridan,
3s/s high maiden/s now-that M. I. A. Sheridan,
up higher that maiden now (for the) M.I.A. contest (to be held) at Sheridan,

WY 'i-vee-nukwa̲ 'ura-mi, August-i-ma̲-'uru, 'ú-vway-aqh 'ura-vaa-chi̲
WY here-at-TOP be-HAB August-O-LOC-that there-at-it be-IRR-NOM
WY, in August, it will be (held) then, that…

'ura-yi-s, máa… kh-'ura 'ʉmʉy-gya… one-fourth Indian 'ura-vaa-chi̲
be-IMM-C that then-be 2s-TOP one-forth Indian be-IRR-NOM
you must be (at least) one-fourth Indian, that…

'ura-'ay, máa… 'uni-vaa-chi̲-'uru máy-kya-khu-s.
be-IMM that do-IRR-NOM-that say-PL-it-C
in order to do it, they say.

kh-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaay-ni tʊmʊ-ri-kʉ-nʉ-mʉ̲ pʊ'ʊ-kwa-vaa-tʉ̲
then-be-that there-at-like year-do-EM-IMP-2s write-PASS-IRR-NOM
And also you should be of (a certain) age and it should be written

'ura-vachi̲-'uru; 'ʉmʉy-gya 'ásti-kya[y-ku̲], kh-'ura 'ína̲ 'ura-'ay, máa…
be-BG-that 2s-TOP want-PL-SUB then-be this/s be-IMM that
(documented); so if you are interested, then this one is, that…

máa 'i-vee-na-mʉ̲ Tami Wedge 'ara-'ay, máa-gha; kh-'ura 'iya-naagha̲
that here-at-LOC-3s T. W. be-IMM that-TOP then-be here-in
that here Tami Wedge, it's her; so here is

['uwayas] tarigyapʉ̲… 'ini-aa: 563-4566; kani-vaa-tʉ̲-'a-uru:
3s/G telephone POSS-G ***-**** house/O-at-NOM-3s-that
her telephone (number):[4] 563-4566; and at home it is:

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4. The Ute word for 'telephone', *tarigyapʉ̲*, was borrowed from the English 'telegraph', with its meaning later adjusted.

563-9376 'ura-'ay; máay… má[y]-vaa-chugwa tarigya-'apagha-vaa-chi̲,
-* be-IMM that/O 3s/O-at-go telephone-talk-IRR-NOM
563-9376 her… you can talk to her on the phone,

ma-vaa-tʉ̲ pu̲chuchugwa-vaa-chi̲.
that-at-DIR know-IRR-NOM
(if you want to) know (more) about it.

kh-'ura 'ícha̲ 'ara-yi-s ma-vaa-tʉ̲ Extension Office-paa-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay;
then-be this/s be-IMM-C there-at-DIR E. O.-LOC-DIR be-IMM
Now there's also this(,) (from) the Extension Office over there;

máa-'u Daniella Howe, mamʉ́ náa-na'a̲chichi-u, six-to-twelve-years
that/s-3s D. H. those/O RED-girl-PL six-to-twelve-years
that one (from) Daniella Howe, to those girls six-to-twelve-years old,

'umʉ̲, 'umʉ̲-vaa-chʉ̲ 'uni-kya[-kʉ̲]-vaa-chi̲; 'ini-ti-kya-vaa-ci̲-amʉ̲
3p/O 3p/O-at-DIR do-PASS-BEN-IRR-NOM make-PASS-IRR-NOM-3p
it will be organized for them; they will be

púupa-amʉ̲ chagha-qha-paa-na̲ máy-kya-khu-s; kh-'ura 'umʉ̲s
way-3p sew-PL-IRR-REL say-PL-it-C then-be 3p/s
taught how to sew(,) they say; so that they can the

'ipʉ̲-a-sapa̲ 'umʉ̲s 'ini-kya-vaa-chi-mʉ̲, 'uru ku̲turuuchi-chi-amʉ̲-'uru
WH-O-MOD 3p/s make-PL-IRR-NOM-PL that/O hot-DIM-3p-that
make whatever (they want), (such as) a hot pad (with which) to pick up

kʉʉ̲-mi-na-y, 'ú-ra-tʉ̲-aa-ni, 'uru 'agha-ni táa 'ini-kya-mi-na-'u,
take-HAN-REL-O that-be-NOM-O-like that WH-do shirt mke-PL-HAB-REL-3s
(hot dishes), and the like, or whatever clothes they would make,

'uru tʉ̲ka-'ini-gya 'ú-ra-tʉ̲-aa-ni 'ini-kya-vaa-chi-mʉ̲; 'umʉ̲sʉ̲-ga
that/O eat-make-PAR that-be-NOM-O-like make-PL-IRR-NOM-PL 3p/s-TOP
or cooking food and the like (that) they want to make;

'áavʉ̲-'ura 'uni-kya-paa-tʉ̲-mʉ̲, 'umʉ̲s-'ura 'áavʉ̲-'uru… moghoy'a-y
now-be do-PL-IRR-NOM-PL 3p/s-be now-that blanked-O
so now they will be able to make (these things), they now…

náagha̲ 'uru 'agha-ni táa-y chagha-qha-paa-tʉ̲-mʉ̲-s 'ura-vachi̲.
maybe that WH-do shirt-O sew-PL-IRR-NOM-PL-C be-BG
to maybe sew blankets or whatever clothes.

'uru 'ásti-kya[y-kʉ]-'uru, 'ʉmʉy tuachi-u-av pachʉ-av ma-vaa
that want-PL-SUB-that 2s/G child-PL-OWN daughter-OWN there-at
So if you are interested, bring your children or daughter up there,

tíi yáa'wa-vaa-chi, 'uru Wednesday… Wednesday and Monday
high carry-IRR-NOM that Wednesday Wednesday and Monday
Wednesday… that thing will be Wednesday and Monday,

'ara-tʉ 'ara-'ay marʉsʉ-ga, 'áy-kya-aqh-'u; kh-'ura 'urus
be-NOM be-IMM that/S-TOP say-PL-it-3s then-be that/s
they say; and this is going to be

narivʉ-kwa-paa-tʉ 'ura-vachi-'uru, 'ava'na-amʉ-'uru núuaa
habit-go-IRR-NOM be-BG-that many/s-3p-that body/s
done regularly, provided many (enough) bodies

'uni-kyay-kʉ, 'áy-kya-khu-s.
do-PL-SUB say-PL-it-C
attend, they say.

kh-'ura-'unuv 'i-vee-tʉ 'áy-kya-s, 'ina-y ma-vaa-tʉ Public Health
then-be-TOP here-at-NOM say-PL-C this-O there-at-DIR P. H.
Now here they say, about this Public Health Educator

Educator 'ara-'ay máa-va Arnold Managan, máa-ra 'áavʉ-'uru…
E. be-IMM that-LOC A. M. that-be now-that
that one there Arnold Managan, like that one now…

'umʉ… naghami-kya-tʉ-mʉ-aa? piya-naghami-kya-tʉ-mʉ 'umʉ,
3p/O sick-PL-NOM-PL-Q sugar-sick-PL-NOM-PL 3p/O
them… the sick ones? The diabetics,

'áavʉ-'uru Augusti-ma 'ini-ta-vaa-tʉ-amʉ 'ura-vachi;
now-that August/O-LOC do-PASS-IRR-NOM-3p be-BG
now in August they will be done (tested);

pʉni-'ni-ta-vaa-tʉ-amʉ, pa'a-manu-khʉ-amʉ 'umʉ núuchi-u;
look-INT-PASS-IRR-NOM-3p complete-all-O-3p those/O Ute-PL
they will be tested, all of those Utes;

'i-vee-chi-mana-kway, tiapʉ-vaa-tʉ-mana-khwa-'uru pichʉ-vwaa-tʉ
here-at-NOM-leave-go Denver-at-DIR-leave-go-that come-IRR-NOM
(someone will come) from there, come from Denver or

'ura-vachi 'ú-ra-tʉ-ni, pʉni-'ni-ta-rʉ-amʉ; kwáa-tʉ-paa-ni-'uru
be-BG that-be-NOM-like look-INT-PASS-ADJ-3P car-NOM-DIR-like-that
something like it, and they will be examined; it will be done (with)

'uni-kya-tʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲ 'ura-sʉ-ga kh-'ura 'i-vee-tʉ̲…
do-PASS-NOM be-BG be-C-TOP then-be here-at-NOM
a mobile unit then here…

mʉni-agha-rukhwa̲ pagha-'ni-vaa-tʉ̲ 'ura-vachi̲, 'áavʉ̲ máy-kya-khu-s;
2p/O-have-go go-INT-IRR-NOM be-BG now say-PL-it-C
it (the health mobile) will circulate among you, they say now;

'úru̲-'uru wʉ́ʉka-qha-paa-chi̲ 'áavʉ̲.
that/S-that work-PL-BG-IRR-NOM now
that's what they will set up now.

TEXT 31

Speech at the Ute language committee

given by: Ralph N. Cloud
date recorded: 4-13-77
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

…'iya-na ka-pu̲chuchugwa-wa 'u-vwaa-tʉ̲, kách-'uru nʉ́ka-na-y,
here-LOC NEG-know-NEG that-at-DIR NEG-that hear-ANT/NEG-O
…I don't know about that, I didn't understand,

kách 'áa'way-wa-ni nʉ́-vwaa-chʉ̲… 'umʉ̲-aa táata'wachi-u-a-tʉ̲
NEG clear-NEG-like 1s-at-DIR 3p-Q men-PL-G-NOM
it's not clear to me… Is there (any) of the councilmen present

'i-vee pagha-'ni? 'i-vee waygya-gu-na-rawi̲… 'umʉ̲-a-tʉ̲
here-at go-INT/IMM here-talk/PL-SUBJ-REL-1p/IN 3p-G-NOM
here? When we should be talking here… one of them

ta'wachi[-gya]-pʉ́ga-tʉ̲-'uru, máy-kya-'ura… kách 'iya-ma
man-be-REM-NOM-that say-ANT-be NEG here-LOC
past councilors, he said… when they don't

wʉ́ʉ́ka-qha-wa-khu̲-tʉ̲-mʉ̲… ká-nana-mani-wa̲-tʉ̲-mʉ̲, máy-kh…
work-PL-NEG-SUB-NOM-PL NEG-REC-do.like-NEG-NOM-PL say-IMM
work together here… they don't do things like this together, he says…

ká-nana-wáygya-wa-tʉ̲-mʉ̲, súuva-tʉ̲-mʉ̲ kʉ́ma-ni wáygya-rʉ̲-mʉ̲…
NEG-REC-talk/PL-NEG-NOM-PL others-NOM-PL different-like talk/PL-NOM-PL
they don't talk together, others talk differently…

súuva-tʉ̲-mʉ̲ kʉ́ma-vachi̲ nanis wáygya-rʉ̲-mʉ̲, ma-vaa-tʉ̲-mʉ̲
other-NOM-PL different-BG alone talk/PL-NOM-PL there-at-NOM-PL/O
the others talk differently each by himself, those others out there

súuva-tʉ̲-mʉ̲-ni nani-'ava'na̲-tʉ̲-mʉ̲ 'ú-nugwa̲ 'ura-'ay, máy-kya 'uwas,
other-NOM-PL-like REFL-many-NOM-PL there-TOP be-IMM say-ANT 3s/s
(the other Ute tribes) many of them are alone up there (Northern Ute),

'aka-páa-gharʉ-núuchi-gyapʉ̲, mámʉ̲ 'úmʉ̲-'uru, súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'úmʉ̲
red-water-sit-Ute-DEFUN 3p/s 3p/s-that other-NOM-PL 3p/s
he said, that old Unconmpagre man,[1] those, the other

wáygya-rʉ-mʉ̲ 'u-vwaa-tʉ… kách-'ura mámʉ̲ nana-ma
talk/PL-NOM-PL there-at-DIR NEG-be 3p/s REC-LOC
speakers up there… they don't

wúʉka-qha-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲, máy-kya-'ura.
work-PL-NEG-NOM-PL say-ANT-be
work together, he said.

'i-vee-'uru tawi wáygya-khu̲, 'i-vee-'u-s pagha-'ni, 'áyh-pʉchi̲,
here-at-that 1p/IN/G talk/PL-SUB here-at-3s-C go-INT/IMM young.man/s
When we were talking here (before), he was here, (when he was) a young man,

ta'wachi̲, council-ta'wachi̲[-gya]-pʉga-tʉ̲, wíitʉs; 'ichay-rawi̲… 'úu-pa
man/s council-man-be-REM-NOM past this/O-2p/IN there-DIR
a man, he was a councilman (at No. Ute) long ago; this we… the way things

wíi-ta-pʉ̲ púupa 'ura-na-y… pɵ'ɵ-vɵrɵ-rʉ̲ 'ura-'ay 'ú-'u…
old-be-NOM way be-REL-O write-go-ADJ be-IMM that/s-3s
happened there long ago… he writes (about that)…

togho-sapa̲-'ura… 'úʉʉ… kách pa'a-nawa-sʉ-ni waygya-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲.
right-MOD-be INTJ NEG very-together-C-like talk/PL-NEG-NOM-PL
that's why… 'úʉʉ… they don't talk together very well.

mʉni-aa-nugwa̲-'uru púa-u[-n] suwa-'ay 'i-vee-tʉ̲,
2p-G-TOP-that kin-PL-1S almost-good/IMM here-at-NOM
Now you (my) kin here are a bit better,

ká-'ava'na̲-chi-'wa-y-'uru; 'u-vwaa-tʉ 'ava'na̲-agha-'uru, 'úu-pani
NEG-much-NOM-IMM-NEG there-at-DIR much-have-that there-like
not too much; but up there (No. Ute) there's lots (of bad vibes), there's

'ava'na̲-'uru-'ura 'ura-'ay, ma̲-máni nanis wáygya-rʉ-mʉ̲,
much-that-be be-IMM RED-do.like alone talk/PL-NOM-PL
lots like that, they talk each one by himself like that,

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1. This may be a reference to Harvey Natchez's speech at the Tri-Ute Language Conference (see (33) below).

nawa-tugwa-s wáygya-rʉ-mʉ.
opposite-go-C talk/PL-NOM-PL
they talk in opposite directions.

'iya-na-núgway táwi 'úu-pani 'ura-yi-s 'i-vee-tʉ-mʉ,
here-LOC TOP 1p/IN/S here-like be-IMM-C here-at-NOM-PL
We here are like that too,

ka-nana-mani-wa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-'ay; 'agha-va-tʉ-mʉ? 'agha-va-amʉ
NEG-REC-do.like-NEG-NOM-PL be-IMM WH-at-NOM-PL WH-at-3p
we don't do things together; where are they? Where are (people)

yugwi-amu núu-waygya-rʉ-mʉ?… 'úmʉ 'íi-pa…
sit/PL/IMM-3p Ute-speak/PL-NOM-PL 3p/S here-DIR
sitting (together) speaking Ute?… Those here…[2]

…'ʉʉ, ma-vay-'ura máy-kya-na… 'úu-pani-núgway 'ura-'ay
yes there-at-be say-ANT-REL there-like-TOP be-IMM
…yes, that's the way they say… that's the way it is

ma-vaa-tʉ-'uru… 'úu-pani-aqh puchuchugwa-y, toghoyaqha-vaa-tʉ
there-at-NOM-that there-like-it know-IMM Towaoc-at-DIR
here too… I know it (is) like that, in Towaoc (Ute Mountain) it is

'úu-pani 'ura-'ay, 'á-'aayh-pʉchi-u 'umʉ puchuchugwa[-qha]-y,
there-like be-IMM RED-young.man-DIM-PL 3p/O know-PL-IMM
like that too, they young men know those (who do it),

'úmʉ náanh-pʉchi-u kach-ukh puchuchugwa-wa; 'ú-vwa-tʉ
3p/S old.men-DIM-PL NEG-it know-NEG there-at-DIR
but the old men don't know about it; that's why

nawa-tukhwa-'ura wáygya-y; "'agha-ni-vaa-chi-aqh-'ura 'ini-kh, nʉ́nay
opposite-go-be talk/PL-IMM WH-do-IRR-NOM-ai-be do-IMM 1s/G
they are talking in opposite directions; "What are you going to do, with the way

'apagha-na-y 'icha-y?" 'i-vee máy-ta-'ay-kwa-ni-kway.
speak-REL-O this-O hereat say-PASS-IMM-go-like-MOD
I speak this (the way the old people talk)?" This is what is being said here.

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2. At this point Edna Russell Baker interjected an observation about how some of the fluent speakers laugh at those who try to speak the language.

mamachi [ˈu] ˈi-vee: “tawi-nugway wáygya-na
woman/s the/s here-at 1p/IN/G-TOP talk/PL-REL
The woman here (said): “Why should we want to throw away

ˈagha-ni-vaa-chi-aqh-ˈura wʉna[-qha]-paa-niʔ” máy-kya;
WH-do-IRR-NOM-it-be throw-PL-IRR–FUT say-ANT
the way we speak (our old language)?” she said;

kách-ˈuru ká-sumay-ˈni-wa, tawi-nugway ˈuni-kyay-ku, “nʉ́-aa ˈawi-tava
NEG-that NEG-think-INT-NEG 2p/IN/G-TOP do-PL-SUB 1s/S-Q long-day
we don’t think, when we do it, “Will I live much longer?

pagha-ˈni-vaa-niʔ táwi-aa [ˈawi-tava] miya-ˈni-vaa-niʔ” ˈuru-ˈa kachʉ-rawi
go-INT-IRR-FUT 2p/IN/S-Q long-day go/PL-INT-IRR-FUT that-?? NEG-2p/IN/S
Will we live much longer?” when we are not here any more,

ˈiya-na-wa-ku, ˈúmʉ píischi-u ka-pu-púchuchugwa-vaa-ˈwa-ni.
here-LOC-NEG-SUB those/S children-PL NEG-RED-know-IRR-NEG-FUT
those children will not know (the language) any more.

ˈúru-ˈʉ nʉ́ˈ ˈúru-ˈʉ sumay-ˈni-gya, ˈuni-kh píischi-u-gwa-y, ˈuru
that-EM 1s/S that-EM think-INT-PAR do-IMM children-TOP-O that/O
That’s what I think (worry) about, about the children, that they

puchuchugwa[-qa]-paa-ku, pʊˈʊ-kway-ku-aqh-ˈuru wachʉ-ka-y, ˈumʉs-ˈuru
know-PL-IRR-SUB write-PASS-SUB-it-that put-PASS-IMM 3p/S-that
should know it (the language), so if it is put down in written form, they

pʊˈʊ-miya-rʉ-mʉ ˈura-ˈay, pu-puchuchugwa-y-ku-ˈuru; ˈú-vway-aqh-ˈura
write-go/PL-ADJ-PL be-IMM RED-know-IMM-SUB-that/O there-at-it-be
would go to school, so that they will know it; then they

pʊˈʊ[-kwa]-paa-ni-aqh, puchuchugwa-vaani-aqh ˈu-vwaa-tʉ-mana-kway.
write-PL-IRR-FUT-it know-IRR-FUT-it there-at-DIR-leave-go
will write it, and know it from then on.

táwi-s-ˈura ˈagha-ni-vee-ni kh-ˈura táwi, kachʉ-nugway tawi-ˈuru
1p/IN-C-be WH-do-IRR-FUT then-be 2p/S NEG-TOP 2p-that
Now how are we going to go about it, when we ourselves have already

ˈapagha-maku-na-ku? ˈʉvʉsi-chi-ˈuru? ˈúmʉ-ˈura píischi-u, nʉmʉy-amʉ
speak-end-ANT/NEG-SUB end-NOM-that those/S-be children-PL 3p/G-3p
stopped speaking (the language)? When it is all finished? When those children,

tuachi-u ˈicha-y ˈapagha-na-av ma-maˈay-ti[-kya-qhay]-ku? máy-kya-ˈuru,
child-PL this-O speak-REL-OWN RED-lost-CAUS-PL-ANT-SUB say-PL-that
our children have lost their own language? Meaning,

kach-aqh wáygya-wa-s.
NEG-it speak/PL-NEG-C
they don't speak it any more.

'u-vwaa-nugway toghoyaqha-vaa-tʉ-mʉ̲ máy-kya-y 'úmʉ̲-'ura
there-at-TOP Towaoc-at-NOM-PL say-PL-IMM those/S-be
Even those Towaoc people there(,) they say(,) those

'á-'aayh̲-pʉchi-u pa'a-mʉrʉka-wáygya-rʉ-mʉ̲; togho-sapa̲-'ura
RED-young.men-PL complete-English-speak/PL-ADJ-PL right-MOD-be
young men are complete English speakers; that's why

'ú-vwa-'uru ká-'áyh-tʉgay-wa, 'umʉ náanh̲-pʉchi-u 'umʉ-a-tukhwa̲
there-at-that NEG-good-become-NEG 3p/O old.men-DIM-PL 3p/O-O-go
over there too things are not improving, they (the young people)

wáygya-y, 'áa-gha̲-qa-tʉ-mʉ̲ kach-umʉ̲-'ura 'ini-a
speak/POL-IMM young-have-PL-NOM-PL NEG-3p-be WH-O
speak against the old ones, the young ones don't think (well) of any of them

sʉti'i̲-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-'ay; mʉrʉka pu̲chuchugwa-gha-'uru máy-kya̲-qha.
think-NEG-NOM-PL be-IMM English/O know-PAR-that say-PL-ANT
(the old people); (because) they know English, they said.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uni-gyay-ku̲-'uru, máy-gya-ni̲-'uru,
there-at-it-be do-PL-SUB-that say-PAR-like-that
So when the young people do that, they think (that),

'ú-vway-ah-'ura-'uru 'agha-ni-gya-sapa̲, 'ivi-gya-'uru, 'agha-ni-gya-sapa̲,
there-at-it-be-that WH-do-PAR-MOD dring-PAR-that WH-do-PL-MOD
then whatever they do, drinking, whatever,

"pu̲chuchugwa-qha[-y]" máy-kya[-y] 'u-vwaa-tʉ; 'u-vwaa-tʉ̲-'ura
know-PL-IMM say-PL-IMM there-at-DIR there-at-DIR-be
"We know (it all)" they say about it; but then

na-vaqha-'u, 'agha-ni-sapa̲ karʉvʉsi-karʉ-yi-s 'u-gwa-na̲.
REF-kill-3s WH-do-MOD jail-sit-IMM-C there-TOP-LOC
they kill themselves, or somehow land in jail because of it.

'urus-a nana-ma-aqh-'uru wúʉka[-qha]-ukh,
that-O REC-LOC-it-that work-PL-SUB
Now if we all worked on it together,

kách; 'úu-pani̲-aqh 'ura[-wa-]tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay; ká… táwi̲-'uru núuchi-gya-y,
NEG there-like-it be-NOM be-IMM NEG 12p/IN/S-that Ute-be-IMM
it would not (happen); not… we are Utes,

puchuchugwa[-qha]-paa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-'ay; mámʉ-'uru
know-PL-IRR-NOM-PL be-IMM those/S-that
we should know this; those

táa-ta'wa-yugwi-chi-mʉ, tawi púupa 'ura[-qa]-na, tawi tʉvʉpʉ-a-y
RED-man-sit/PL-NOM-PL 1p/IN/G way be-PL-REL 1p/G land-G-O
sitting councilmen, the way we are, they should know our land,

puchuchugwa[-qha]-paa-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-yi-s, púupa-av kani-vaa-tʉ
know-PL-IRR-NOM-PL be-IMM-C way-OWN house/O-at-DIR
the way our houses are,

'ura-na-y, púupa-rawi puku-u-a-y 'uni-aagha-na… ka-'ini-'a-tʉ
be-REL-O way-1p/IN horse-G-O POSS-have-REL NEG-POSS-have/NEG-NOM
the way we have our horses… some (of us) have nothing,

'ura-'ay naagha-tʉ, 'ʉʉ[-miya]-'ni-chi, 'uru puchuchugwa[-qha]-paa-tʉ[-mʉ]
be-IMM some-NOM yes-go/PL-INT-NOM that know-PL-IRR-NOM-PL
they just wander (live) about, that's something they the Council)

'ura-yi-s; togho-sapa-'ura ma-vaa karʉ-i tamu'a-qharʉ-vaa-chukhwa
be-IMM-C right-MOD-be there-at sit-IMM watch-sit-at-go
should know too; that why (they are) sitting there sitting and watching

'áy-u-vwaa-khu-aqh-'uru, tawi-vaa-chʉ puchuchugwa-gha.
good-INC-IRR-SUB-it-that 1p/IN/O-at-DIR know-PAR
over (us) so that things will be good, knowing about us.

'úu-pani táwi 'ura[-qa]-y, táwi núuchi-u ká-'ava'na-chi-wa-tʉ-mʉ
that-like 1p/IN/S be-PL-IMM 1p/IN/S Ute-PL NEG-many-NOM-NEG-NOM-PL
That is the way we are, we the Utes are

'ura-'ay, pu-puchuchugwa-rʉ-mʉ ichay pa'a-manu-khu, púupa-amʉ 'ichay
be-IMM RED-know-ADJ-PL this/O compLete-all-O way-3p this/O
few, we know all of this, the way our

pʉ́a[-u]-av 'ura[-qa]-na-y; togho-sapa-'ura nʉ́' máy-kh; kach-a…
kin-PL-OWN be-PL-REL-O right-MOD-be 1s/S say-IMM NEG-??
kin are; that's why I am saying (all this); no…

ma-vay-kwa kʉma-s ta'wachi máy-ki-sʉ-kwá… sú-iini máy-kya-s:
there-at-go other-C man/S say-IMM-C-EM other-S say-ANT-C
Another man there is saying… another one said:

"'u-'úra-qha-tʉ-mʉ-'ara, 'u-'úra-qa-tʉ-mʉ…" 'únigunu-'ura
RED-be-PL-NOM-PL RED-be-PL-NOM-PL sudden-be
"They're like that, they're like that…" but surely

pu̲-chuchugway-khu-mɯ̲; tɯvɯchi-sapa̲-ɯs 'áy-kh; 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura
RED-know-it-2s true-MOD-C say-IMM there-at-it-be
you know it; what you say is true; so

pɯnikyay-ku̲, ká-'apagha-way-sapa̲… pɯnikyay-ku̲… púupa…
see-SUB NEG-talk-NEG-MOD see-SUB way
when you see it, you don't need to talk… when you see… the way…

púupa-amɯ̲ 'ura-qa-na̲.
way-3p be-PL-REL
the way they (??) are.

> tɯvɯchi-sapa̲-'ura 'uru-'ay… máy-ki̲… 'uru toghoy 'anɯ-máy-ta,
> true-MOD-be that-IMM say-IMM that/O well just-say-PASS
> It is true… I say… what is just said,

tɯvɯchi-gyay-vaa-ni-aa kú? tɯvɯchi-sapa̲-aa? kách, 'ɯmɯ[y]-nugway
true-be-IRR-FUT-Q EM true-MOD-Q NEG 2S-TOP
will we believe it just like that? Is it true? No, you're going

karɯ-vwaa-ni-s, nɯka-qharɯ-vwaa-ni 'ú-vwaa-tɯ; nanɵs kh-'ura
sit-IRR-FUT-C hear-sit-IRR-FUT there-at-DIR REFL then-be
to sit, sit and hear about it; then you're going to come

pu̲chuchugwa-vaa-ni, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura tɯvɯchi-sapa̲ 'ura-'ay;
know-IRR-FUT there-at-it-be true-MOD be-IMM
to know it yourself, only then it is may be true;

'úu-pani-amɯ̲ sɯti'i̲-kya-y, nú' 'áy-ki̲.
there-like-3P feel-PL-IMM 1S/S say-IMM
that's the way they feel, I'm saying.

> nɯka-qha-pɯgay-ku̲-'uru súu-ku̲… pa'a-sú-suu-ku̲-'uru, púupa-amɯ̲
> hear-ANT-REM-it-that one-O very-RED-on-O-that way-3p
> I've heard it once… just one time, the way

wáygya-na̲ ma-vaa-tɯ-mɯ̲, sú-iini toghoyaqha-vaa-tɯ̲, na'achichi̲ 'ay-ki̲…
talk/PL-REL there-at-NOM-PL one-S Towaoc-at-NOM/S girl/S say-IMM
those over there talk, one Towaoc person, a girl I think…

mamachi̲… 'ú́ɯ… 'áayhpɯchi̲ ká-nɯka-wa-tɯ̲… 'áaa…
woman/S INTJ young.man/S NEG-hear-NEG-NOM INTJ
a woman… 'ú́ɯ… a young one (who) doesn't understand (Ute)… 'áaa…

ká-núu-waygya-wa-tɯ-mɯ̲; togho-sapa̲-'ura 'ú-vway-'uru… ká-tɯvɯchi̲
NEG-Ute-speak/PL-NEG-NOM-PL right-MOD-be there-at-that NEG-very
they don't speak Ute; that's why over there… it is not

'áy-wa-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay; 'uwa-nugway wíi-núuchi-gyapʉ̲ 'uwas-'u
good-NEG-NOM be-IMM 3s/O-TOP old-Ute-DEFUN/S 3s/S-3s
very good; now the long-gone Old Ute(s,) he (they)

pu̲chuchugwa-gha… mʉrʉka-'áayhpʉchi̲[-wa] pʊ'ʊ-khwa-pʉga-tʉ̲-'uru,
know-PAR White-young-man-with write-go-REM-NOM-that
knew… they went to school with the White boys,

pu̲chuchugwa-ti-amʉ̲ mʉrʉka-'apagha̲-pi, núuchi 'uway
know-CAUSE-3p English-speak-NOM/O Ute/O the/O
and they taught them English, so they would interpret (translate)

tʉ́ʉra̲-tapi-'apagha̲-kʉ-y;[3] máy-kya-'u-s 'áy-kh.
out-step-speak-BEN-IMM say-ANT-3s-S say-IMM
it for the Ute(s); that's what s/he said.

['umʉs-'ura]: "'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲ 'ʉmʉy máy-vaa-ni?"
3p/s-be WH-do-IRR-NOM 2s/O say-IRR-FUT
(Those old ones) never said: "Why should I translate for you?"

ká-máy[-kya]-wa; 'áavʉ̲-nugway 'úu-pa-ni 'ura-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay;
NEG-say-PL-NEG/IMM now-TOP there-DIR-like be-NOM be-IMM
they didn't say that; but nowadays it is like this:

"'agha-ni-vaa-chi̲? 'ʉmʉy kh-'ura 'agha-ni-vaa-ni?" 'uru-a-s-'ura
WH-do-IRR-NOM 2s/O then-be WH-do-IRR-FUT that-O-C-be
"Why should I do it? Why should I do it for you?" but in the old days they

'ú-vway-aqh-'u máy-kʉ-y-'u: "máy-kya-'u-s 'ína̲ mʉrʉkachi̲…
there-at-it-3s say-BEN-IMM-3s say-ANT-3s-C this/s Whiteman/s
would translate it for them: "(This is what) this Whiteman said…

máy-kya-'u-s".
say-ANT-3s-C
(this is what) he said".

'ichay pʊ'ʊ-kwa-tʉ-saa 'ú-ra-tʉ̲-aa-ni… 'áavʉ-saa kách
this/O write-PASS-NOM/O-TOP that-be-NOM-O-like now-TOP NEG
This business of (putting it in) a book like that… nowadays it is not

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3. The expressions *tʉ́ʉra-tapi-'apagha-* 'out-step-speak' or 'speaking stepping out' is a wonderful metaphor for 'interpreting' or 'translating'. The Whiteman's written documents were always seen by the Utes as full of traps, so that the wary native had better step out of harm's way. The Ute interpreters who learned English at school were thus seen as 'clearing the path' for their fellows to step on.

'ura-wa; súu-ku 'uway nanapʉchi 'ini-a-ku-sapa-'u:
be-NEG/IMM other-O the/O old.man/O WH-O-it-MOD-3s
(the way it used to be; nowadays they tell) an old man whoever he may be:

"'agha-ni-vaa-ni? má ká-pʉchuchugwa-wa-tʉ" may-kya-y-'u,
WH-do-IRR-FUT that/S NEG-know-NEG-NOM say-PL-IMM-3s
"Why should he do (it)? This one doesn't know (anything)"

"ká-tʉsu'a-wa-tʉ-mʉ" máy-ta-y-'u.
NEG-feel-NEG-NOM-2s say-PASS-IMM-3s
they tell him, "you don't know (it)" he is told.[4]

4. At this point Neil Cloud commented that it is very difficult to read Ute, and thus one need not fear that the Whiteman would ever learn it or steal it. Ralph Cloud's speech was a marked turn-around by an elder who previously was adamantly opposed to putting the language in writing, and of participating in the Ute Language Program. The inference was often voiced by others, that committing the language to writing would enable the Whiteman to steal it. At around that time, such a feeling around the Ute Language Committee was reinforced when the two Teacher's Aids from the Ute Bilingual Program at the Elementary School came to one Committee meeting and announced they wanted to quit their jobs. When pressed for a reason, they said the White and Spanish kids in class were learning the language, but the Ute kids were refusing to.

TEXT 32

Cloud family lore

told by: Ralph N. Cloud
date recorded: 5-2/8-81
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

wiitʉ̲s-'uru… 'áapachi[-gyay]-kʉ̲-n-'uru 'u-vwaay-a-kʉ̲…
past-that boy-be-SUB-1s-that there-at-??-SUB
It was long ago… when I was a child then…

nana-ku-n-'uru, múaa-ghapʉ-n 'ura-'ay pía-ghapʉ-n, 'úmʉ̲-umʉ̲
grow-SUB-1s-that father-DEFUN-1s be-IMM mother-DEFUN-1s 3p/s-3p
when I was growing up, it was my late father and my late mother,[1] when they

paga-'ni-kʉ̲-sʉ-mʉ̲-'uru, ma-vaa kwá kani-gyay-kʉ̲ kwá, 'ʉri-páana-va,
go-INT-SUB-C-PL-that there-at INTJ house-have-SUB INTJ ??-bread-at
were still alive, when they had their house right up there (pointing), at Spring

ma-vaa tíi kani-gyay-ku-s, 'uway Lucy Thompson-i
there-at high house-have-SUB-C 3s/G Lucy Thompson-G
Creek, when they had their house up there, up there (away) from Lucy Thompson's

kani-mana-khwa-pʉ tíi, páa-y-'uru nʉ̲kwi-chi-chi Beaver Creek
house/O-leave-go-NOM high water-O-that flow-NOM-NOM/O B. C.
(we) had our house right there on the little river

'ú-vwa kani-gyay-kʉ̲-'u; 'ú-vway míi-pʉchi-u 'ú-vway-kʉ, 'ú-vwa
there-at house-have-SUB-3s there-at small-DIM-PL there-at-EM there-at
Beaver Creek; I was little then, that's where I spent my

míipʉchi[-gya]-pʉga-tʉ̲, 'u-vwa wi'i-pʉga-tʉ̲-'ura nʉ́'.
small-be-REM-NOM there-at fall-REM-NOM-be 1s/s
childhood, that's where I was born.

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1. Edwin Cloud (*yúa-vʉtʉvʉ̲* 'Plains Plume') and Ruth Nash Cloud.

'umʉs-'ura pachichi-u-n, pavichi-n, 'ú-vwa-'uru 'uni[-'nį]-kya-ni,
3p/s-be older.sis-PL-1s older.bro-1s there-at-that do-INT-PL-like
My older sisters[2] and my older brother[3] were living there too,

kach-umʉ tʉvʉchį 'áa'wi-sʉti'į-ni 'uru 'umʉas-'uru míi-pʉchi-gwa-y
NEG-3p very clear-feel-ADJ that 3p/G-that small-IM-be-IMM
but I don't remember them (there) very well (because) I was little when they

nana-kʉ-umʉ-'uru 'ú-vway; John Grove-gapʉ, Roy Grove[-wa], Mary
grow-SUB-3p-that there-at John G.-DEFUN Roy Grove/O-and Mary
were growing up there;[4] Old John Grove, and Roy Grove, and Mary

Grove[-wa], Alice Grove[-wa], Sia-navu-gwapʉ 'u-vwa
Grove/O-and Alice Grove/O-and clear-alike-DEFUN there-at
Grove, and Alice Grove, and old Cyrus Grove (their father) had their

kani-gya[-qha]-amʉ, pía-ghapʉ-umʉ 'u-vwaa tíi.
house-have-PL-3p mother-DEFUN-3p there-at high
house up there too, and their old mother.

'ú-vwa-tʉ-mana-kway kwá póʊ-agha-mi kwá páa-va-chawį,
there-at-DIR-leave-go INTJ road-have-HAB INTJ water-at-come
From right there there is a road going right to the creek,

'ipʉ-pa-kway, pá-agha-tʉ, páa-gharʉ-khwą kwá…
WH-DIR-MOD water-have-DIR water-sit-go go
wherever exactly, towards the water, directly toward the pond…

'u-vwaa-tʉ-mana-kway-'ura miya-vagha-y; nía-av-'ura 'áawi-sʉ-ni
there-at-DIR-leave-go-be go/PL-go-IMM name-OWN-be clear-C-like
(later) we moved away from there; from then on I can remember myself;[5]

'ú-vway-aqh pina-khwą; 'ú-vway-aqh páyaa-mą chikyaa-mi yoghovʉchi
there-at-it follow-go there-at-it side-LOC ??-HAB coyote/G
it was that side that became a den of coyotes, that deserted

kanį, kani-gyapʉ 'ú-vwa; kwaya-tukhwą chįpi-kya-mi, 'u-vwaa-ną-'ura
house house-DEFUN there-at across-go climb-PL-HAB there-at-LOC-be
house up there; and going up that way across (the creek), right there is

---

2. Minnie, Clara.

3. Julius.

4. The birth order of the five (surviving) Cloud children was: Julius, Minnie, Clara, Ralph, Sunshine.

5. Literally 'I can remember my name'.

kwá 'ú-vwa-'ura yugwi-yi-s pina-khwa̲, 'uru tagu-nkhka-tʉ-a-y-'uru
INTJ there-art-be sit/PL-IMM-C follow-go that power-dance/PL-DIR-G-O-that
where we used to camp later, right there up from the Sundance grounds,

'ina-kwa-chivi̲ kwá, 'áyh-kway, 'i̲-'íni-vʉ-gapʉ̲ 'uway
here-go-climb INTJ WH/O-MOD RED-do-NOM-DEFUN 3s/G
whoever, we camped way up there from where old John Weaver had

kani-mana-kwa-pʉ tíi 'ú-vwa yugwi, wa'apʉ-agha-mi 'ú-vwaa-tʉ.
house-leave-go-NOM/O high there-at sit/PL/IMM cedar-have-HAB there-at-DIR
his house, that way in the cedars.

'ú-vwaa-na̲-'uru 'ú-vway-aqh… pina-khwa̲-'ura pʊ'ʊ-wachʉ-ta-yi-n
there-at-LOC-that there-at-it follow-go-be write-put-PASS-IMM-1s
Then there… later on I was put at school,

nʉ́nay, 'i-vee núu-vʊ'ʊ-ghani-vaa; 'ú-vwaa-tʉ-mana-kway-'uru
1s/O here-at Ute-write-house-at there-at-DIR-leave-go-that
here at the Ute school; from there on later things are clear(er)

pina-khwa̲ 'áa'wi-sʉti'i̲-sʉ-ni; máa-pa kwá 'ʉri-páana-vaa-tukhwa̲,
follow-go clear-feel-C-like there-DIR INTJ ??-bread-at-go
in my mind; right over there towards Spring Creek,

'ú-vway kani-chʉ-pʉa-agha-amʉ̲, 'ú-vwa nʉ́nay pía-y múa-wa-ukh.
there-at house-build-REM-CL-3p there-at 1s/G mother-O father-and-it
they built them a house, right there for my mother and father.

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura-'uru 'u-vwaa 'uni-kya[-y], 'úu-pa̲-'ura nʉ́'
there-at-it-be-that there-at do-PL-IMM there-DIR-be 1s/s
So from then on we lived there, that's where I came back to

payu-kwa-y, 'u-vwaa-nʉ-s-'ura 'uni-kya-mi; múaa-ghapʉ-n 'ú-vwa
return-go-IMM there-at-1s-C-be do-ANT-HAB father-DEFUN-1s there-at
(from school), that's where I lived; my late father lived there with

pagha-'ni pía-ghapʉ-n[ʉ-wa], mámʉ̲ 'ú-vway tʉga-y
go-INT/IMM mother-DEFUN-1s-and those/s there-at become-IMM
my late mother, my close kin came into the world right there,

yuu-pʉ́a-yi-n, sʉnachi-u-n; 'umʉs-'uru togho-pagha-'ni-khu̲-'uru
fat-kin-O-1s niece-PL-1s 3p/s-that right-go-INT-SUB-that
my nieces; when my parents were still alive we used to live there

yugwi-mi; 'uru-sa-'uru kachʉ-u̲mʉ̲ 'umʉas 'iya-na-wa-ukh,
sit/PL-HAB that-TOP-that NEG-3p 3p/GEN here-LOC-NEG-SUB
(all together); then when they were not here any more,

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura puruch'a-kwa[-y] máa-pa.
there-at-it-be scatter-go-IMM there-DIR
we scattered all over there.

'ú-'uway múaa-ghapʉ-wa-av pagha-'ni-mi, karʉ-mi kani-vaa,
RED-3s/O father-DEFUN-with-OWN go-INT-HAB sit-HAB house/O-at
I used to hang out with my father, sitting at home,

wʉ́ʉka-mi, pʉ́arɨkya-mi-'u, naaghą-sʉ-ni kách… kachi-n…
work-HAB help-HAB-3s maybe-C-like NEG NEG-1s
working, helping him, maybe not… I wasn't…

na-rʉsu'a-'ni-mi-wa 'ú-vway-aqh, 'uway múa-y-av pía-y-av
REF-feel-INT-HAB-NEG there-at-it 3s/G father-G-OWN mother-G-OWN
paying that much attention then (being young), when my father and mother

pagha-'ni-ukh; kh-'ura-'uru pina-khwą-'uru pía-ghapʉ-n-'u
go-INT-SUB then-be-that follow-go-that mother-DEFUN-1s-3s
were still alive; then later on when my mother

pina-khwą-'uru ka-'iya-na-qha-ukh-wa,[6] 'i-vee-'uru Taylor Hospital-vay
follow-go-that NEG-here-be-ANT-SUB-NEG here-at-that Taylor Hospital-at
was not here any more, (she was) there in the Taylor Hospital

naghami-kani-vaa, 'ʉ́ʉʉ… múa-ghapʉ-n 'ú-vwa 'avi-yi-s, 'ú-naaghą;
sick-house-at INTJ father-DEFUN-1s there-at lie-IMM-C there-in
sick-house, 'ʉ́ʉʉ… my old father was lying there too, in there;[7]

'ú-'ura 'uwas tavi pina-khwą; 'uwa-vą 'avi-mi nʉ́',
that/s-be 3s/s step/IMM follow-go 3s/O-at lie-HAB 1s/S
but he got up (recovered) later; I would sleep at his place,

wʉ́ʉka-vi-kya-y, tugwa-wʉ́ʉka-gha-'uru 'ú-vwaa-tʉ,
work-NOM-ANT-IMM night-work-PAR-that there-at-DIR
after working, working at night there,

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6. The construction here, *ka-'iya-na-qha-ukh-wa* (NEG-here-LOC-ANT-SUB-NEG) is somewhat aberrant. At least in theory, *ka-'iya-na-na-ukh* (NEG-here-LOC-ANT/NEG-SUB) would follow more strictly the double-negation pattern of Ute, with the second *-na-* standing for the suppletive *portmenteau* form of the anterior-negative, displacing *-ka-*. Mr. Cloud's usage here may be motivated by a desire to avoid a *-na-na-* sequence (-LOC-ANT/NEG-).

7. This may have been the time of the great Flu epidemic in the early 1920's.

'a-vaa-tʉ kwá páa-chakuavʉ̲-aa-tʉ.
there-at-DIR INTJ water-ditch-O-DIR
right there at the irrigation ditch.

'ú-vway-aqh 'uwas-'ura pagha-'ni 'uwas; 'uwas-'ura
then-at-it 3s/s-be go-INT/IMM 3s/s 3s/s-be
Well he (recovered and) lived; he was

puwa-gha-tʉ̲ 'ura-'ay, nʉ́nay múa-ghapʉ̲, 'uwa-vaa-chukhwa̲
medicine-have-NOM be-IMM 1s/G father-DEFUN/S 3s/s-at-go
a medicine-man, my old father was, people used to come

'uni-kya-ta-mi; kách-'ura 'uwas pina-khwa̲ 'átʉ-pagha-'ni-mi-wa;
do-PL-PASS-HAB NEG-be 3s/s follow-go well-go-INT-HAB-NEG
to him; but later on he wasn't very well;

'ura-ghaa-sapa̲ pagha-'ni-mi, ká-'átʉ-pagha-'ni-mi-wa-sapa̲-'uru;
be-PAR-MOD go-INT-HAB NEG-well-go-INT-HAB-NEG-MOD-that
even though he was still alive, he wasn't (doing) very well;

'ú-vway-aqh-ʉs-'ura pina-khwa̲ 'ʉvʉsi̲-kya 'uwas…
there-at-it-C-be follow-go end-ANT 3s/s
and then later on he died…[8]

'uwas-'ura… 'apagha̲… ta'wa-'apagha-rʉ-sapa̲-'uru, 'úmʉ
3s/s-be speak man-speak-ADJ-MOD-that those/s
My father… he spoke… spoke like a leader, like those

wíitapʉ̲-u 'umʉ-a-pani 'umʉ, 'umʉ wíitapʉ̲-u
old.person-PL 3p-O-like 3p/O 3p/O old.person-PL
old men, like those old men (like) the late Peter Eaton (Sweet-Mule),

pia-múura-pi-gyapʉ, Dick Charlie-gyapʉ, Yoghovʉchi-gyapʉ,
sweet-mule-NOM-DEFUN/O Dick Charlie-DEFUN/O Coyote-DEFUN/O
(like) the late Dick Charlie, (like) the late Buckskin Charlie ('Coyote'),

'áa-agha-va̲-kway, 'aka-tʉvʉ-núuchi-gyapʉ̲, 'umʉ… 'umʉ…
WH-have-at-MOD red-earth-Ute-DEFUN/S 3P/O 3P/O
whoever, old George Norris (Red-Earth-Ute), those… those…

'ú-vway-aqha-tʉ-mʉ̲ 'ura-navichi, súuva-tʉ-mʉ̲ ká-'iya-na-wa-s,
there-at-it-NOM-PL/S be-MASS -thers-NOM-PL/S NEG-here-be-NEG-S
who were (alive) then, and those others who are not here any more,

8. Edwin Cloud may have never fully recovered from the epidemic that took away his wife Ruth, let alone her loss.

'uru… 'ú-vway-aqha-tʉ-mʉ̲.
that there-at-it-NOM-PL/S
that… all those of that (old) time.

'únigunı̲-'ura, 'uwas-'uru, 'ú-vway-aqh-'uru, wíitʉ̲s-'uru,
sudden-be 3s/s-that there-at-it-there past-that
Well it was, it was him, then, long ago,

tagu-nhka-pi 'uru 'uni-kh; súuva-tʉ-mʉ-na-khwa̲
power-dance/PL-NOM/O the/O do-IMM other-NOM-PL-LOC-go
(who) started the Sundance; others

namu-'ini-kya-y… náanhpʉchi-u, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'uwas 'umʉ-wa-'uru
first-do-PL-IMM old.men-PL there-at-it-be 3s/s 3p/O-with-that
did it first… old men, but then he did it

'uni-kya-tʉ̲, 'ú-vway-aqh-'ura kwáa-ti-miya-ukh, 'anɵ-rı̲-chi-sapa̲
do-ANT-NOM there-at-it-be run-CAUS-HAB-it WH/QU-do-NOM-MOD
with them, then he directed it for how many

tɵmɵ-rı̲-pachı̲, 'uwayas nanapʉchi-gyay-kʉ̲ 'uni-kyay-kʉ̲-'uru.
year-do-BG 3s/G old.man-be-SUB do-ANT-it-that
years, he did it till he was an old man.

kh-'ura kachu-'u 'iya-na-wa-khʉ̲-'uru, 'ʉvʉs-'ura 'urus, 'uru-vwa-yi-s
then-be NEG-3s here-be-NEG-SUB-that end-be that/s tha/O-at-IMM-C
Then when he was not here any more, it ended, for who knows

'anɵ-khwa-sapa̲ tɵmɵ-ri-yukhwı̲ ká-kwáa-wa, tʉrʉsı̲-kwa-qha;
WH/QU-go-MOD year-do-sit NEG-run-NEG stop-go-ANT
how many years it didn't run, it stopped;

'ú-vway-aqh-'ura 'urus kwáa-u-s, 'úrʉ̲ tagu-nhka-pı̲;
then-at-it-be that/s run-INC-C that/s power-dance/PL-NOM/S
then it started running again, that Sundance;

máy-kya-nʉ-s nʉ́' 'ú-'ʉ̲ra-sapa̲.
say-ANT-1S-C 1s/s RED-be-MOD
I have spoken.

TEXT 33

Speech at the Tri-Ute language meeting

spoken by: Harvey Natchez (Uncompagre, No. Ute)
date recorded: 3-30-77
recorded by: T. Givón
translated by: Sunshine C. Smith

'áy-aqh… kachʉ-n na-rʉsu̲'a-'ni-'wa-yi-n, 'ichay-aqh-'ura
good-it NEG-1s REFL-feel-INT-NEG-IMM-1s this/O-it-be
It's good… I am not worried, one hears about this

nʉka-ta-'ay 'uru ma-va pagha-'ni-na̲; 'anʊ-a̲ togo[y]-ni-'ura
hear-PASS-IMM that there-at go-INT-REL WH-O good-like-be
(the Ute language issue) over there where I live; I was wondering how well they

máy-kya-qhay-vʉ 'áy-kya-ni-'uru; nʉ́-'ura 'ú-vway kách, 'ú-vwaa-tu̲
say-PL-ANT-NOM/O say-ANT-like-that 1s/S-be there-at NEG there-at-NOM
were talking (about it); I didn't, participate in

ta̲qha.vina-'wa-tu̲ 'uru máy-kya-pi-paa-tʉ… nʉ́nay 'umʉ-a-na
take.part-NEG-NOM that/O say-PL-NOM-IRR-NOM/O 1s/G 3p/O-O-LOC
what is being talked about… I am concerned

'áa-gha-rʉ-mʉ ma[mʉ]-vaa-chʉ sʊtʊ'na̲-chi̲ 'ura-yi-s 'iya-na̲,
young-have-ADJ-PL/O those/O-at-DIR feel-NOM be-IMM-C here-LOC
about the young ones here too,

'i-vee-naagha̲-'uru tʉga-'wi-ku̲, 'umʉs-'ura 'úu-pani máy-kya-yi-s 'úmu̲,
here-at-in-that arrive-??-SUB 3s/s-be there-like say-PL-IMM-C 3p/s
when it (the trend) arrives here too, they also say the same (about it),

'ina-khwa-tʉna-khwa̲ 'uni-kya-'ni-chi-mu̲.
here-go-climb-go do-PL-INT-NOM-PL
those who live up here (No. Ute).

tawi-nugway 'i-vee-ni tu̲-tʉgaa-ukh, tawi-vina-khwa-paa-chi̲-'ura
1p/IN-TOP here-at-like RED-arrive-SUB 2s/O-follow-go-IRR-NOM-that
While we have come this far here, there are those who will come

'ura-qa-tʉ-mʉ 'úmʉ; 'agha-ni 'ura[-qa]-paa-ni? 'agha-paa-tugwa-ni
be-PL-NOM-PL those/S WH-do be-PL-IRR-FUT WH-DIR-go-like
behind us; "How will they fare? Where will it (all)

'ura-vaa-ni-a-na?" máy-kya-qha-'uru; 'ichay 'iya-na 'umʉas
be-IRR-FUT-??-REL say-PL-ANT-that this/O here-LOC 3p/G
go?" we have said; this here is what they

'áy-kya-qha-na, 'umʉs education-i-vee-tʉ 'ura-qa-tʉ-mʉ,
say-PL-ANT-REL 3p/S education-O-at-NOM be-PL-NOM-PL/S
have said, those who are in the Education Department,

school-pʉ-vwaa-tʉ[-mʉ]-'uru, pʊ'ʊ-qhwa-tʉ-'uru
school-NOM/O-at-NOM-PL-that write-PL-DIT-that
those at the school, so that (our children) will

puchuchugwa[-qha]-paa-chi 'uru.
know-PL-IRR-NOM that/O
know how to write it (the Ute language).[1]

'ichay-'ura núu-ruachi[-u] máy máa-va-chʉ 'áavʉ 'iya-na máy-kya-s;
this/O-be person-child-PL 3s/O 3s-at-DIR now here-LOC say-PL-C
Now they are saying this here about the child(ren);

"'agha-ni-aqh 'ara-'ay?" máy-kya-'uru… 'ipʉ-a-'ura 'ini-kya-mi-kya?
WH-do-it be-IMM say-PL-that WH-O-be do-PL-HAB-ANT
"How is it (with the children)?" they say… (but) what have they been doing?

'agha-ni-kya-pʉga 'uru? 'ipʉ 'ura-'ay? 'ipʉ-vway-aqh 'ura-'ay?
WH-do-PL-REM that/O WH/O be-IMM WH/O-at-it be-IMM
Why did they do that?[2] What is it? How did it turn this way?

máy-kya-ni-'uru, togho-sapa-'ura mamʉs 'uru tʉ-tʉgaay-qha-qha
say-ANT-like-that right-MOD-be 3p/S that/O RED-approach-PL-ANT
I've been wondering, this is why they have started it (this conference)

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1. Mr. Natchez's talk, given at the Tri-Ute language conference (Ft. Duchesne, UT, March 1977), came closely after the decision by the No. Ute (Uintah-Ouray) tribe to enshrine in its constitution an injunction against unifying the writing system for the Ute language. At the time, three separate writing systems were in use: One at the State schools, one at the tribe's Education Dept., and one at the Head-Start program. Mr. Natchez is no doubt settling some scores here, and much of this talk refers obliquely to internal divisions on his reservation.

2. De-standardizing the writing system.

'i-vee-aqh 'ura-vaa-ni kʉ́aw, 'áavʉ-tavay, wíichkʉs; 'umʉ-'ura-'uru
here-at-it be-IRR-FUT yesterday now-day tomorrow 3p/G-be-that
it (this conference) will be (held) here yesterday, today and tomorrow;

'uni-kya-na̲-'uru mʉni-a-n, pʊ'ʊ-khwa-tʉ̲-'uru máa-pa
do-PL-REL-that 2p-O-?? write-PASS-NOM-that there-DIR
they are the ones who did that to you, when posting the

ma̲-machugwa-qhay-ku̲-'uru; 'ú-vway-aqh-kway-aa máy[-kya]-vaa-ni?
RED-glue-PL-SUB-that there-at-it-MOD-Q say-PL-IRR-FUT
announcement (about the conference); so are they going to tell us about it?

'ú-ra̲-tʉ-paa-tʉ̲ núuchi 'inay 'agha-paa-tʉ máy[-vaa]-na̲ 'uru?
that-be-DIR-DIR-NOM Ute/G this/G WH-DIR-DIR say-IRR-REL that/O
This is how Ute should be spoken?

'umʉs-'ura 'úu-pa-tugwaa-ni-'uru máy-kya-y, 'umʉ-'ura
3p/s-be there-DIR-go-like-that say-PL-IMM 3p/O-be
They are saying it like that, have they

kwáyi̲-kya-qha-s-'uru, mʉrʉkachi-u 'umʉ… mixed-tʉ-mʉ̲-'uru
sleep/PL-PL-ANT-C-that Whiteman-PL 3p/O mixed-NOM-PL/S-that
been sleeping, the White ones… the mixed-bloods,

ma-vaa-tʉ 'ura-qha-tʉ-mʉ̲-aa? 'agha-ni-tugwa-ni̲-'ura 'umʉs-'uru
there-at-DIR be-PL-NOM-PL/S-Q WH-do-go-like-be 3p/s-that
those who are over there?[3] How do they feel about it,

'u-vwaa-tʉ sʉ̲-sʉ́ti'i̲[-kya]-tʉ-mʉ̲, máy-kya-ni̲-'uru; nʉmʉy-gya,
there-at-DIR RED-feel-PL-NOM-PL think-ANT-like-that 1p/EX-TOP
I've been thinking; as for us (the full-bloods),

'agha-ni-tugwa 'u-vwaa-tʉ sʉ̲-sʉti'i̲-guupʉ̲-'ura-'uru mamʉas
WH-do-go there-at-DIR RED-feel-SUBJ-be-that 3p/G
how should we feel about it when they have

máy-kya-qhay-ku̲-'uru? máy-kya-si-gyaa-n-'uru; nʉmʉy-aqh-'ura púupa
say-PL-ANT-SUB-that say-PL-??-PAR-1s-that 1p/EX/G-it-be way
said (all that)? That's what I have been thinking; we (the full-bloods

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3. At a certain point (in the 1960's?) the No. Ute tribe ejected all members with less than 50% blood quotient (the 'mixed-bloods', *navayh-tʉ-mʉ̲*), and was forced to give them part of the reservation. Many fluent speakers of Ute were of 'mixed-blood', and some of them became Ute language teachers at the school (e.g. the late Daisie Jenks).

'ay-kwa̲-'uru, ['agha-ni-vaa-chi̲] ku̲-kʉʉ-vaa-ni-aqh-'uru? 'ichay-'uru
say-IMM-that WH-do-IRR-NOM RED-take-IRR-FUT-it-that this/O-that
who speak Ute), how will we pick up the way (they write Ute)? This thing

máy[kya]-na-av? manay-ti-kya-paa-ni̲-aqh? 'úru̲-aa-'ura 'iya-na̲
say-PL-REL-OWN stir-CAUS-PL-IRR-FUT-it that/S-Q-be here-LOC
they say (writing the language)? So that we keep it alive? Is that the way it

'ura-guupʉ̲? máy-kya-ni̲-'uru.
be-SUBJ say-ANT-like-that
should be here? I have been wondering.

togho-sapa̲-'ura 'umʉs-'uru máy-kya-y… máy-kya-y…
right-MOD-be 3p/s-that say-PL-IMM say-PL-IMM
This is why they are saying… saying…

máy-kya-y-'uru, 'i-vee 'iya-na̲ máy-kya-y 'úru̲s-tʉ-paa-tʉ-'uru 'iya-na̲,
say-PL-IMM-that here-at here-LOC say-PL-IMM that-DIR-LOC-DIR-that here-LOC
saying that, here here they are saying about that (the writing system) here,

nʉ́nay-'uru pʉ́-pa 'uni-kya-paa-tʉ, 'umʉs núuchi-u máy-kya-tʉ-mʉ̲
1s/G-that REL-LOC do-ANT-IRR-NOM/O 3p/S person-PL say-PL-NOM-PL
where I have lived,[4] they (the mixed-bloods) are the ones that say it,

'ura-'ay, 'úru̲ 'uni-kya-qha[-na̲] 'ú-vwaa-tʉ-ni tʉmʉ-ri̲-qa-rʉ̲
be-IMM that/S do-PL-PASS-REL there-at-DIR-like year-do-ANT-ADJ
what they have been doing for some years now(,)

máy-kya-s-'ura-'uru; 'úru̲-'ura nana-ma 'ara-navichi.
say-PL-C-be-that that/S-be REC-LOC be-MASS
they are saying that; all that (taken) together.

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4. The verb form in the relative clause here:
... 'iya-na, nʉ́nay-'uru pʉ́-pa 'uni-['ni]-kya-paa-tʉ...
here-LOC 1s/G-that REL-LOC do-INT-ANT-DIR-DIR
'...here, around where I have been living...'
is somewhat aberrant, missing the expected object-REL suffix (*-na*): The expected ('grammatical') form should have been perhaps:
'uni-'ni-kya-**na**-y-paa-tʉ...
do-INT-ANT-REL-O-DIR-DIR

nʉmʉy-'ura-'uru máy-kya-'ura 'uwas Forrest, ma-vaa-tʉ, ma-vaa-tʉ
1p/EX/O-be-that say-ANT-be 3s/S Forrest there-at-DIR there-at-DIR
So Forrest[5] has told us about it, he is

sʉti'i̲-'ni-gya 'uru; 'agha-ni-guu-pʉ̲-'ura 'ura-'ay 'ina-y núu-ruachi
aware-INT-PAR that/O WH-do-SUBJ-NOM-be be-IMM this-O Ute-child/O
aware of it; so what should we do about this Ute child,

máa-va-chʉ̲, 'iya-na̲ máas-núgway kach-aqh 'apagha-wa-tʉ̲ 'ichay
that-at-DIR here-LOC 3s/S-TOP NEG-t speak-NEG-NOM this/O
who doesn't speak this (his own)

'apagha-na-av? máy-'ura namu-wʉnʉ-'way 'icha̲ mʉrʉkachi púupa
speak-REL-OWN that/G-be first-stand-IMM this/S Whiteman/G way
language here? This way they speaks English

máy-miya-na̲.
say-HAB-REL/S
first.

'úru̲-'ura-'ura-'uru, 'agha-ni̲-'ura-vaa-chi̲ tami
that/S-be-be-that WH-do-be-IRR-NOM 1d/IN/O
That's it, how will it be that we[6]

chʉkhuchi-vaa-chi̲-'uru pagha-'ni-kya-tʉ̲ púupa 'apagha-na-y? mamʉas
??-IRR-NOM-that go-INT-ANT-NOM way speak-REL-O 3p/G
will (??) keep alive the way we speak? Those people (mixed-bloods)

'umʉ 'umʉ-aqh-'uru 'ichay… pɵ'ɵ-ri-tʉ-paa-tʉ-'uru,
3p/G 3p/G-it-that this/O write-do-NOM/O-IRR-NOM/O-that
have their way of writing it down,[7]

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5. Forrest Kutch, at the time director of the Education Department at No. Ute.

6. Mr. Natchez is addressing Forrest Kutch directly here, thus using the dual-inclusive (genitive) form *tami* 'we-2', rather than the plural-exclusive (genitive) *nʉmʉy*. This explains why next he is using the singular/dual form of the verb *'apagha-*, rather than the suppletive plural *waygya-*.

7. Mr. Natchez knows well he is treading on thin ice here, and is being deliberately vague and circular. Daisy Jenks, sitting across the table, is 'mixed-blood'. Forrest Kutch can't speak Ute. People of the Uintah band of No. Ute speak a slightly different dialect. The targets of Mr. Natchez criticism know exactly what he means, but cannot openly take offense because he is not identifying them explicitly.

máy-na-av-'uru…
say-REL-OWN-that
what they say…[8]

mamʉa máy-pʉga máy-kh-'uru, 'agha-ni-tugwa-ni-'uru
3p/O say-REM say-IMM-that WH-do-go-like-that
What (he) told them, how should those (others) go about

'uni-kya-guupʉ? mamʉs-ʉs 'ura-yi-s tʉkwa-na-agha-tʉ-mʉ, tʉvwa
do-PL-SUBJ 3p/S-C be-IMM-C below-LOC-have-NOM-PL down
it (writing Ute)? Those (who live) down below (south), those down

píinu-vwa-tʉ-mʉ, tʉvwa Ute Mountain-tʉ-mʉ? 'agha-ni-tugwaa-ni
Pine-at-NOM-PL down Ute NMountain-NOM-PL WH-do-go-like
on the Pine (So. Ute), those down (at) Ute Mountain? How will they

ma-vaa-tʉ sʉ-sʉ́ti'i-pʉga-ni 'iya-na máy-kya-qha[-na-y] mamʉas-'uru?
there-at-DIR RED-feel-REM-like here-LOC say-PL-ANT-REL-O 3p/G-that
feel about what those (others) have said here?

'i-vee-tugwa-amʉ-'uru pa'ay-kya-qha-s, mʉni-rugwa[-vaa]-kʉ…
here-at-go-3p-that call-PL-PASS-C 2p-giveIRR-SUB
They have been invited up here, in order to give you,

tawi-rugwa[-vaa]-kʉ-'uru máy-vaa-kʉ-'uru.
1p/IN-give-IRR-SUB-that say-IRR-SUB-that
to give us all to tell us all (what they think).

'ú-'ʉni-s-'ura 'uru-'ay 'áavʉ 'ichay, 'i-vee-ni-'ura tʉgay-khʉ;
RED-do-C-be that-IMM now this/O here-at-like-be approach-SUB
That's the way to do this nowadays, how to approach it;

máas… mamachi 'ura-yi-s 'i-na-kwa-pʉ tíi, Washington-mana-kwa
that/S woman/S be-IMM-C here-LOC-go-NOM high Washington-leave-go
that one… the woman up here, the one who came down here

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8. Here the use of the singular form in:
...máy-na-av-'uru...
say-REL-OWN-that
'...what s/he says...'
is probably aberrant, with the plural more in line with the meaning:
...máy-kya-na-av-'uru...
say-PL-REL-OWN-that
'...what they say...'

'uni-vərə-rʉ 'ura-yi-s 'u… mamʉas-'ura-'uru púupa-'uru
do-go-ADJ be-IMM-C 3s/s 3p/G-be-that way-that
from Washington state… the way they wrote down

wáygya-na-av pə'ə-khwa-pʉga-s 'iya-na, toghoy-guupʉ-'ura 'ura-'ay,
talk/PL-REL-OWN write-PL-REM-C here-LOC good-SUBJ-be be-IMM
their language (up there), it may be good (for us here),

máy-kya-'ura máas kʉ́aw-'uru.
say-ANT-be 3s/s yesterday-that
she told us (about it) yesterday.

súuva-tʉ-mʉ-ni míichi kʉmas-tʉ-khwa… kʉma-na-tugwa-ni
other-NOM-PL-S little different-NOM-go different-LOC-go-like
Others (are) a bitt different… they pronounce (the Ute language)

máy-kya-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-yi-s; súuva-tʉ-mʉ-gaa-ni tʉkwa-na-agha-tʉ-mʉ
say-PL-NOM-PL be-IMM-C other-NOM-PL-TOP-S down-LOC-have-NOM-PL
differently; and others from down south (So. Ute, Ute Mountain)

kʉma-s-tugwaa-ni míichi máy-kya-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-yi-s; máy-kya-'uru
different-C-go-like little say-PL-NOM-PL be-IMM-C say-ANT-that
also pronounce it a bit differently; she (the lady from Washington) said it(,)

máy-ki-'ura máas-'uru, 'uru 'iya-na 'ipʉ-sapa-'uru máy-gya; sú-iini
sai-IMM-be 3s/s-that that here-LOC WH-MOD-that say-PAR other-S
said (it,) right here whatever one says; another one might

máy-vaa-chi, 'apagha-vaa-chi… 'apagha-pi-av-'uru, sú-iini-aqh-'u
say-IRR-NOM speak-IRR-NOM speak-NOM/O-OWN-that other-S-it-3s
say (it), might talk (to correct)… his own speech, then another would

nʉka-qha-y: "máy-kyay-a-'u 'áy-ki" 'áy-vaa-chi-ni; ['uwas-'ura]
hear-ANT-IMM say-ANT-??-3s say-IMM say-IRR-NOM-like 3s/s-be
have heard it: "Now that's the way he said it" he would think; now a person

wíi-'ura púupa-s-a-ni sʉti'i-kya[tʉ]-'uru kach-ukh-'ura togho-maku-tʉ
old-be way-C-O-like feel-ANT-be NEG-it-be right-finish-NOM
who knew the old way might not feel that it is

sʉti'i-'ni-'wa-tʉ.
feel-INT-NEG-NOM
the right way.

'úru-'uru togho-maku-ti-kya-qhaa-s-'uru, máy-kya-'uru máas;
that/s-that right-finish-CAUS-PL-ANT-C-that say-ANT-that 3s/s
That's (how) they tried to make it right, she said; those (of us)

mámʉ-'ura 'i-vee-chi-mʉ… 'áayhpʉchi 'u, páagi-gya-tʉ, Oneida
3p/s-be here-at-NOM-PL young.man/s the/s hair-have-NOM/s Oneida
here (No. Ute)… now the young man, the one with braids, the Oneida Indian

núuchi 'ura-'ay, máy-kya-'uru, mamʉs 'ú-vwa-chʉ-ni wáa-ma-suu-cha-ni
Indian be-IMM say-ANT-that 3p/s there-at-DIR-like two-tens
(who spoke earlier), he said, it took them twenty

tʊmʊ-ri-kʉ-khay-'uru, 'úrʉ-tʉ-aa-ni 'ú-vway-aqh.
year-do-BEN-ANT-that that-NOM-O there-at-it
years, or something like that there.[9]

nʉmʉy-'ura ka-píya-kʉ tʉ-tʉgay-wa wagha-rukhwa pʊrʊ-'ay
1p/O/EX-be NEG-very-EM RED-become-NEG middle-go go/PL-IMM
Now we don't (need to) get very (concerned) walking in the midst of

máy-kya-'uru máas; nʉmʉy-'uru máy-kya-qhay-kʉ… 'anʉ
say-ANT-that 3s/s 1p/EX/G-that say-PL-ANT-SUB just
it as he has said; when we said it… just when

máy-kya-qhay-kʉ-'uru 'áva'na-tʉ 'ura-'ay; piyʉ'mi-'uway-kya-tay-kʉ,
say-PL-ANT-SUB-that much-NOM/S be-IMM reject-arrive-PL-PASS-it
we said it, there's lots (going on); it is being rejected,

tuu-'uway-kya-tay-kʉ, nʉmʉy-'uru púupa-ni-'uru máy[-kya-]na-y.
mean-arrive-PL-PASS-it 1p/ex/G-that way-like-that say-PL-REL-O
it is being rejected, the way we speak.

máy-pagha-y-'uru, mamʉs-aa-'uru 'u-vwaa-ni tʉga-pʉga
say-go-IMM-that 3p/S-Q-that there-at-like approach-REM
They keep saying it; but how far have *they* gone

'áavʉ-'uru panaqarʉ, government panaqarʉ 'ichay
now-that money/G government money/G this/G
now when money, this Government money

'ura-navichi-chugwa[y-khʉ]-'uru? 'úrʉ-tʉ-paa-tʉ-'uru, pikya-qha-tʉ
be-MASS-go-SUB-that that-NOM-DIR-NOM-that touch-ANT-NOM
is available? It's about that, when it has touched,

'ura-khʉ-'uru, 'áavʉ-nuv-'uru 'ura-'ay, na'awayh-pi-paa-tʉ púupa-'ara-'u
be-SUB-that now-TOP-that be-IMM beautiful-NOM-LOC-DIR way-be-3s
it really is right now, (about) the right way (for us to)

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9. The reference here is to another invited speaker, Bill Golnick of the Oneida tribe in Wisconsin.

máy-kya-mi[-na]; máy-gya-sʉ-gaa-ni-'uru, 'úru-'u 'uni-kya-pʉga-s;
say-PL-HAB-REL say-PL-C-have-like-that that/S-3s do-PL-REM-C
say it; they thought about it, and they did it;

'iya-na máy-kya-na-ukh-'uru máas.
here-LOC say-ANT-REL-it-that 3s/S
that's what he (Bill Golnick) said here.

'úmʉ-ukh-'ura-'uru 'umʉ náanh-pʉchi-u 'umʉ-vwaa-chʉ
3p/S-it-be-that 3p/O old.men-DIM-PL 3p/O-at-DIR
It is (about) them, about the elders (who should be)

namu-'ura-'ay 'iya-na púupa-'uru máy-vaa-na; 'urusʉ-gaa-ni
first-be-IMM here-LOC way-that say-IRR-REL that/S-TOP-like
first here (to say) how one should speak (Ute); and also about

pɵ'ɵ-ghwani-vaa-tʉ púupa-aqh máy-vaa-na; 'agha-ni-aqha-nʉmʉ-'ura
write-house-at-DIR way-it say-IRR-REL WH-do-it-1p/EX-be
how one should say it at the school; how (else) should

máy[-kya]-paa-ni? máay-'uru máy-kya-pʉa-'uru 'uni-kya-pʉga-s;
say-PL-IRR-FUT 3s/G-that say-ANT-NOM-that do-PL-REM-C
we say it? They (?) did it the way he (Bill Golnick) said (it should be done);

'ú-rukhwa-'ura 'áavʉ, 'áavʉ púupa núu-agha 'urus,
there-go-be now now way spirit-have that/S
that way now, now, the way it (the language) would have spirit,

súwa-rugwa-togho-maku-taa-ni 'ura-'ay.
almost-go-right-finish-PASS-like be-IMM
so it would be (done) right.

'ava'na-tukhwa-'ura pi-píyaa-yi-s, púupa-aqh-'uru 'ura-vaa-na;
much-go-be RED-remain-IMM-C way-it-that be-IRR-REL
There's lots that still remains, the way it should be (done);

máay-'ura-'uru máy-kya[-na]-ʉs; máy… máy-tugwaa-ni-'uru 'umʉs-'uru
3s/G-be-that say-ANT-REL-C say say-go-like-that 3p/S-that
that what he (Bill Golnick) was saying; say… that's what they

máy-miya-y, máasʉ-gaa-ni-'uru pagha-wii 'áayh-pʉchi
say-go/PL-IMM 3s/S-TOP-like-that Navajo young.man-DIM/S
(Bill Golnick & others) keep saying, and also that Navajo young man

'ú 'uni-kya-s 'úru-tʉ-paa-tʉgwa-s, 'ú-vwaa-tʉ-a-s-'u máy-kya-s,
3s/S do-ANT-C that-DIR-DIR-go-C there-at-NOM-O-C-3s `say-ANT-C
(Paul Platero) (seems to have) said about the same thing,

'úru-tʉ-paa-tʉ-a-s 'iya-na… nanʊs-av 'umʉ púa-u-av
that-DIR-DIR-NOM-O-C here-LOC self-OWN 3p/O kin-PL-OWN
about that here… about his own people

'umʉ-vwaa-chʉ púupa-amʉ 'uni-kya-mi-na-y.
3p/O-at-DIR way-3pdo-PL-HAB-REL-O
and how they do it.

'úru-'ura-ukh 'áa'wa-ni 'iya-na… nú-gʉ-'ura… 'u-vwaa-tugwa-n
that/S-be-it clear-like here-LOC 1s/S-EM-be there-at-go-1s
That much seems clear here… I myself… am (talking) a

míichi, 'uru 'u-vwaa-tʉ máy-kh, máy-kya-na 'iya-na, 'íi-pa
little that/O there-at-DIR say-IMM say-ANT-REL here-LOC here-DIR
little, about (all of) this, what I have said here, about this here, they

'iya-na, mamús 'iya-na… 'í-mʉ 'iya-na kʉma-rugwa-tʉ-mʉ
here-LOC 3p/S here-DIR here-PL here-LOC other-go-NOM-PL
here… those Indians here (invited speakers) from other places

núuchi-u, 'áayh-pʉchi-u, na-náavi-u, pʊ'ʊ-yugwi-gya-'uru, 'ava'na-aqh
Indian-PL you.men-DIM-PL RED-girl-PL write-sit/PL-PAR-that many-it
(Navajo, Oneida, Washington), young men, girls, sitting and

'uni-kya-tʉ-mʉ 'ura-'ay; 'áavʉ-'ura-'uru púupa-aqh-'uru…
do-PL-NOM-PL be-IMM now-be-that way-it-that
writing it down, they do a lot of it; now the way…

mani-tugwa-khʉ-'uru, pʉchuchugwa-vaa-ni-'uru, 'átʉ-mani-kya-tʉ-mʉ
do.like-go-SUB-that know-IRR-FUT-that well-do.like-PL-NOM-PL
if they do (more) like that, they will (be able to) learn, and do well like

'ura-yi-s; togho-sapa-'ura 'ú-gwa-khwa-ukh-'ura mamús kách
be-IMM-C right-MOD-be that-TOP-go-it-be 3p/S NEG
this; that's why that way they will not miss the (Indian)

narʉkʉ-núu-'a-tʉ, 'uway púa-rugwa-na-av-'uru.
miss-spirit-have/NEG-NOM 3s/O kin-give-REL-OWN-that
spirit when they help their kin.

'ava'na núuci-u 'umʉs-umʉ pagha-wiichi-u 'ura-qa-s-'uru;
many person-PL 3p/S-3p go-knife-PL be-PL-C-that
The Navajos are many; now, as you know,

'úru-'ura… 'uru-núgway-'uru, póʊ-pa karʉ-khwa-ta radio 'uru
that-be that-TOP-that road-DIR sit-go-NOM radio that/O
driving on the road (through their reservation) and

turn-onyʉ-ta, paˈa-ˈuru-tʉ-s ˈura-mi, paˈa-ˈuru-tʉ̲-a-s
turn-on-NOM complete-that-NOM-C be-IMM complete-that-NOM-O-C
turning the radio on, it is completely that (the Navajo language),

wáygya-y-mi; [kh-]ˈura núu-naˈachichi̲, núu-ˈaapachi̲ ˈú-vway-ku
speak/PL-IMM-HAB then-be Indian-girl/S Indian-boy/S there-at-it
they speak it completely; so when the Indian (Navajo) girl(s) and boys

kh-ˈura ˈuwa-ˈuru nʉka-qhay-kʉ̲-ˈuru, kach-ukh karʉkʉ-núu-ˈa-tʉ̲
then-be 3s/G-there hear-PL-SUB-that NEG-it miss-spirit-have/NEG
hear it there, they don't miss the spirit of it

ˈiya-na̲; ˈuru ˈagha-ni-ˈuru ˈáa-gha-rʉ-mʉ̲ ˈú[mʉ̲] ˈipʉ-a-sapa̲-ˈuru
here-LOC that WH-do-that young-have-ADJ-PL 3p/s WH-O-MOD-that
there; for how (else) would the young become

ˈini-tʉvʉy-ghya-[qha]-tʉ[-mʉ̲]?
do-true-have-PL-NOM-PL
experts at anything?

namu pʉchuchugwa-[tʉ̲]-ˈura ˈuwa[y] wíi-nuuchi… wíi-núuchi ˈuway
first know-NOM-be 3s/G old-Ute/G old-Ute/G 3s/G
The one who know(s) first (best) are the Old Utes… the way

púupa̲ ˈura-qa-na̲-aqh; ká… ká… ká-togho-maku-tʉ̲-ˈa-y…
way-be be-ANT-REL-it NEG NEG NEG-right-finish-NOM-have/NEG-O
the Old Utes were; (one) doesn't… doesn't… doesn't do thing right…

ka-kwáa-ma-tʉ mani-ˈwa-tʉ̲ ˈu-ma-tukhwa̲; togho-sapa̲-ˈura
NEG-fast-LOC-DIR do.like-NEG-NOM there-LOC-go right-MOD-be
one doesn't do things like this in a hurry that way; that's is why the

púupa-amʉ̲ ˈura-qa-na̲ ˈura-ˈay… ˈumʉ-sa ˈúmʉ̲ kach-ukh-amʉ̲
way-3p be-ANT-REL be-IMM 3p-TOP 3p/s NEG-it-3p
way they (the old Utes) used to be… now those who don't care

nanasʉ-wa-tʉ-mʉ̲, míiya̲-ni-naagha̲ ˈuni-ˈni-kya-tʉ-mʉ̲ ˈura-yi-s,
RECIP-NGE-NOM-PL far-LOC-in do-INT-PL-NOM-PL be-IMM-C
(much) about it, or those who live far away,

máy-kya-miya-núgway nʉ́nay nʉka-qhay-kʉ̲…
say-PL-HAB-TOP 1s/G hear-ANT-SUB
they say what I heard…

ˈú-raa-nʉ́-sa-gha nʉ́ˈ náagha̲ ˈúra̲-aqh pʉaari ˈuru mamʉas-ˈuru
that-be-1s-TOP-PAR 1s/s maybe be-it add/IMM that 3p/G-that
So because of this I am adding all this after what they (previous speakers)

máy-kyay-kʉ̲-'uru; 'ú-rukwa̲-'ura tʉvʉy-ki-s, 'u-vwaa-tʉ 'agha-ni-'uru
say-PL-SUB-that there-go-be ask-IMM-C there-at-DIR WH-do-that
have said; I am asking about it, how (will it be handled)

'úrʉ̲-tʉ-paa-tʉ 'iya-na̲, máy-kya-'uru; 'u-rukwa̲-'ura-'uru
that-NOM-DIR-DIR here-LOC say-ANT-that there-go-be-that
here, I've said; in order to say (something) about a topic like this;

'ú-ra-tʉ̲-aa-ni-'uru máy-vaa-chi̲; 'agha-ni-kwa-rawi̲
that-be-NOM-O-like-that say-IRR-NOM WH-do-go-1p/IN
How are we going to do it?

'uni[-kya]-vaa-ni? 'agha-ni-kwa-rawi̲ núu-aa-ri[-kya]-paa-ni,
do-PL-IRR-FUT WH-do-go-1p/IN spirit-O-do-PL-IRR-FUT
How are we going to keep the spirit alive,

'uru máy[-kya]-na-av?
that/ say-PL-REL-OWN
what we are talking about?

'úrʉ̲-'ura-'uru máy-gyay-kʉ̲-'uru, 'agha-vaa-amʉ̲ tʉgay[-kya]-paa-ni?
that-be-that say-PL-SUB-that WH-at-3p approach-PL-IRR-FUT
So when they are saying it, which way will they approach it?

'agha-vaa-amʉ̲-'ura-'uru tʉgay-kya[-y]? 'ura…
WH-at-3p-be-that approach-PL-IMM be…
How are (we) approaching (it) now?…

pʉ́-paa-tugwa-khwa̲-rawi̲… kwáa maay-vee-ni 'ura-'ay, máy-kya-ni-'uru;
REL-DIR-go-go-1p/IN run find-IRR-FUT be-IMM say-ANT-like-that
the direction we are going… where we will find it, I've thought;

'ipʉ-a-sapa̲-'uru kh-'uru máy-gya… nʉ́' 'ichay 'ú-vway-aqh 'ichay
WH-O-MOD-that then-that say-PAR 1s/s this/O there-at-it this/O
whatever one says then… I (about) this then this here… the way that

'iya-na̲… púupa máa-pani máy-gya-na̲-'uru, wʉ́ʉka-vaa-chi̲-ukh-'ura…
here-LOC way that-like say-ANT-REL-be work-IRR-NOM-it-be
one (Bill Golnick) has said, so that it will work out…

kh-'ura 'urus-'uru tʉgay-paa-chi̲.
then-be that/s-that become-IRR-NOM
so that it will come about.

marʉs-'ura 'úu-pa-tugwa-sʉ-ni, núu-agha-s 'iya-nạ; kh-'ura
that/s-be there-DIR-go-C-like spirit-have-C here-LOC then-be
Then it will go that way, with the spirit here; then

mamʉ-a-s-'uru 'ura-khụ-'uru, núu-a-ma-khwa-s 'ura-yi-s 'iya-nạ
3p-O-C-that be-SUB-that person-O-??-go-C be-IMM-C here-LOC
when (you ask) them, (ask) the people here(,)

'ásti'i̱-aqh-aa? 'íi-pani 'ura-'ay, máay-'uru máy-kya[-na]-s, 'ava'nạ-tʉ
want/IMM-it-Q this-like be-IMM 3s/G-that say-ANT-REL-C much-NOM/S
do you like it? It's like this, the way that one (Bill Golnick) said, there are

wagha-rugwa-tʉ-'ura 'iya-nạ; nachuwạ-pi 'apagha-pi̱ 'úrụ, 'úrụ
middle-go-NOM-be here-LOC fancy-NOM/O talk-NOM/S that/s that/s
many (more things) involved here; talking fancy talk, there's

'ava'nạ 'ura-tʉ 'ura-yi-s 'iya-nạ.
nuch be-NOM be-IMM-C here-LOC
lot of that here.

súu-kunani-'uru 'ipʉ-a-sapạ-'uru tʉ-tʉgaa[y]-kụ-'uru,
other-O-that WH-O-MOD-that RED-compete-SUB-that
When competing against another person about something,

máy-gya-na-'u-'uru, máay 'ini-a-qhay-kụ, 'ipʉ-máy-gya máy-ki̱?
say-ANT-REL-3s-that that/s that/G do-??-ANT-SUB WH-say-PAR say-IMM
what they said, about what they did, what are they really trying to say?

naaghạ-'ara 'ʉnʉpʉ-y 'apagha-gha 'áy-vaa-chi̱? máy-ta-'uru-'u-'ura
maybe-be madness-O talk-PAR say-IRR-NOM say-PASS-that-3s-be
Maybe it's just for crazy talk? That's what one says here (to such a person);

'iya-nạ; 'úrụ-'ura-'uru 'uwas-'u nʉka-'ni-gya-sapạ-'uru, 'ásti'i̱-na-av-'uru
here-LOC that-be-that 3s/s-3s/s hear-INT-PAR-MOD-that want-REL-OWN-that
this is because they only listen, (for) what they want

sʉnʉr'a-gha-'uru; 'uni-paa-chi-kụ-'uru, kach-ukh-'uru 'úrụ-tʉ-aa-ni
hope.for-PAR do-IRR-NOM-SUB-that NEG-it-that that-NOM-O-like
and hope (to hear); so when they want to do it (talk like that), they

nʉka-'ni-wa-tʉ.
hear-INT-NEG-NOM
don't listen.

'uni-na-av-ʉs-'uru pʉ́ka-marə'na-paa-chi̱; máy-'ura-'uru
do-REL-OWN-C-that hard-push-IRR-NOM 3s/G-be-that
Whatever you do, do it with enthusiasm; that's what

máy-kya[-na]-yi-s 'iya-na̱; 'ú-ra-tʉ̱-aa-ni̱-'uru 'ura-navichi;
say-PL-REL-O-C here-LOC that-be-NOM-O-like-that be-MASS
they are saying here; that's the way things are;

tawi-aqh-aa pə'ə-qwa-guupʉ̱, 'ichay púupa-av [wáygya]-na-y?
1p/IN-it-Q write-PL-SUBJ this/O way-OWN speak/PL-REL-O
are we going to write (the language) the way we speak it?

'agha-ni-aqha-rami̱-'ura pə'ə-vwaa-ni? 'úru̱-'ura pə'ə-kway-ku̱-aqh, sú-iini̱
WH-do-it-2/IN-be write-IRR-FUT that-be write-PASS-SUB-it other-s
And how are we going to write it? And if it is written, how well will another

'agha[-ni]-'a tʉ́ʉ-pu̱chuchugwa-vaa-ni? kach-aqh-'uru
WH-do-3s well-know-IRR-FUT NEG-it-that
person understand it well? If you haven't

sukura-nay[-ku̱]-'uru máy-'ura 'ura-yi-s 'iya-na̱?
school-ANT/NEG-SUB-that say-be be-IMM-C here-LOC
gone to school here, (that is)?

'ava'na̱-tʉ̱-'ura 'uru-'way púupa-aqh-'uru máy-kya-ni 'ichay 'iya-na̱
much-NOM/S-be that-IMM way-it-that say-PL-like this/O here-LOC
There is a lot more about how we I think (about) this that we have

'i-vee-amʉ̱-'uru ku̱chupi̱-kyaa-na-y; manu-khu̱-tʉ̱-aa-s-'uru
here-at-3p-that gather-PL-REL-O all-O-NOM-O-C-that
gathered here; all this that is being

'u-vwaa-tʉ-'uru máy-miya-s, sʉʉ-máy-miya-yi-s kh-'ura 'iya-na̱;
there-at-DIR-that say-HAB-C strong-say-HAB-IMM-C then-be here-LOC
talked about now, they are saying it straight here now;

'ú-ra-tʉ-ni-ʉs-'uru-'ura 'iya-na̱, mamʉas-'uru pʉ́-paa-tugwa-amʉ̱-'uru
that-be-like-C-that-be here-LOC 3p/G-that REL-DIR-go-3p-that
it is like this now, what they are talking

máy-kya-pʉ̱; máy-kya-na̱-ʉs nʉ́' 'úru̱ 'iya-na̱ ma-vaa-tʉ-av-'uru
say-PL-NOM say-ANT-REL-C 1s/s that/s here-LOC there-at-DIR-OWN-that
about; what I have said here is just a small part

ta̱qhavina-qha-na-y-'uru; 'ava'na̱-tʉ̱-'uru 'ura-vaa-chi-s 'u-vwwa-tu̱-'uru
slice-ANT-REL-O-that much-NOM/S-that be-IRR-NOM-C here-at-DIR-that
of it; there's much more here that one should

sʉ̲ti'i̲-'ni-ta-'uru; máy-kya-na̲-'uru toghoy-aqh-'ura nʉ́nay-'uru máy-khu̲,
feel-INT-PASS-that say-ANT-REL-that good-it-be 1s/GTHAT say-SUB
be aware of; what I have said was good when I said it,

núu-sʉ̲ti'i̲-kya-na̲-'uru máy-kya-na̲ 'i-vee-tugwa̲-'uru.
Indian-fee-ANT-REL say-ANT-REL here-at-go-that
what was said here about Indian awareness.

> 'áy 'iya-na̲ nʉ́-gwa̲-'ura míichi̲ mʉni máy-guupʉ-s 'ura-yi-s…
> Good here-LOC 1s-TOP-be little 2p/O say-SUBJ-C be-IMM-C
> Good(,) now I suppose I could tell you a bit more…

'ichay-a-rami̲-'uru máy-kya-maku-ku̲ 'apagha-guupʉ̲… ma-vaa-tugwa
this/O-?-2d-that say-PL-finish-SUB speak-SUBJ there-at-go
about this while we finish talking… there

'iya-na̲… púupa-av-aqh sʉti'i̲-na-y; máy-kya-n[ʉ-s].
here-LOC way-OWN-it feel-REL-O say-ANT-1s-C
now… the way I feel; I have spoken.

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Tao Teh Ching (ca. 600 BC), attributed to Lao Tse; my own translation.